The Historical Consciousness of 15-year-old students in Greece

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I certify that the work contained in the thesis submitted by me for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy is my original work, except where acknowledged reference is made to other authors. It has not previously been submitted by me for a degree at this or any other university.

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The data collected in this research are in Greek and the translation of the extracts used in the thesis is my work.

Signed:

to my family

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ABSTRACT

This is small scale, empirical, qualitative research which explores the historical consciousness of 15-year-old students in Greece. The main research question is to what extent and under what circumstances students refer to the past while addressing current problems. The present study aims at discerning different students' stances towards the past and draws on Rüsen's theory and typology of historical consciousness as an initial basis for the analysis of the Greek data.

The research findings suggest that the sixty students interviewed throughout the main data collection tended to refer to the past selectively: the students of this study selected either their 'learnt' cultural past, whenever their identity was contested, or the recent past on the basis of the recent past's similarity to the present. When students chose not to refer to the past, they did so by citing the "changes" that have taken place in history, changes that made the present so "different" from the past. Finally students were found to make an unconscious use of the past, or to make use of an 'implicit' past: in the latter case students made use of an extended present as a recent past in order to be able to predict the future. In all the cases above students seem to have made use of a "practical" "consulted" past in order to serve their "current practical engagements" (Oakeshott, 1983: 15).

The latter finding suggests that history education should focus on the development of students' "historical" awareness. In this way students would not deal with a "fixed", "consulted" past which would be either completely different or exactly the same as their present. On the contrary, students would understand the past in a dynamic way, as continuously changing and being transformed into present forms of understanding, into "more positive modern configurations" (Rüsen, 1993: 75). In this way students would create present-past frameworks more easily in order to face their current concerns, frameworks which at the same time would be "historically" informed.

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I. MAIN PART

Introduction to this study

The main issues explored in this study are: to what extent and under what circumstances do students refer to the past while addressing a current problem; what type of past do students refer to: do students make use of a *remote* or a more *recent* past, do students refer to a "historical" or to a "practical"[1] past? Students' practical past could be a past identified with *collective memory*, an identity past, a past generally informed by the public sphere and not by professionally produced historiography.

Nevertheless, the latter questions could be considered as questions concerning contemporary historical consciousness, they need not be thought of only in relation to fifteen-year-old students. There are current deliberations over the relationship of history to collective memory and the object of the discipline of history is contested: while there seems to be an "obsession with the past" in the public sphere[2] (Lowenthal, 1998: ix) historians appear to hold diverse epistemological assumptions. For example, there are historians who see the discipline of history partly informed by present concerns and others who see history in completely 'presentist'[3] terms. On the other hand, the object of historiography has broadened in recent years to include *memories* and the *commemorating means* by which people remember (Hutton, 1994: 95). On the whole, not only do different types of professional history exist but there are also sources of history production other than those constructed by historians.

Another factor that contributes to the proliferation of 'histories' is the proliferation of ethnic, social and other identities: "the core meaning of any individual or group identity ... is sustained by remembering; and what is remembered is defined by the assumed identity" (Gillis, 1994: 3). This 'remembering' has been traditionally sustained and ensured by historiography; "The empowerment of previously disempowered groups" has led either to the revision of certain histories or to the

[1] "Practical" past is an expression originating in Oakeshott's work (Oakeshott, 1983).

[2] Indications of this obsession with the past are apparent in museums, newspaper editions, tourism, popular cinema, even people searching out forebears.

[3] With the latter I am referring to the postmodern theorists that see the discipline of history only as a form of representation, "more (as) a literary or poetic art and less (as) a social scientific art" (Seixas, 2000: 27).

production of new ones (Seixas, 2002: 5). Finally, the great movements of populations that have developed because of globalization, or the 'globalization' achieved through the internet and the mass media, bring people together in a way that makes relativism apparent: in the latter case identity issues are evoked and at the same time we have an "intensification" of historical consciousness (Seixas, 2002: 5).

As Seixas notices "intensification" of historical consciousness does not necessarily mean "advancement" of historical consciousness (Seixas, 2002: 7).When people attempt to interpret the past, the more they seem to learn, the more they withdraw from the past; the latter 'withdrawal' takes place because people in order to make sense of the past people can not help using present 'tools': "The past is a foreign country whose features are shaped by today's predilections ..." (Lowenthal, 1985: xvii).

The latter emphasis on the past, either on the interpretation and understanding of it, or on the preservation of the past relics, has led other theorists from the sociological front to refer to a contemporary "historicism (that in the end) effaces history" (Jameson, 1993: 74). Jameson with his comment above, focused on the imitation of various past styles by contemporary art and especially architecture and cinema. As Jameson clarifies, it is the impression of "pastness" that is sought by the contemporary creators and not the "representation of the real past" (Jameson, 1993: 75). There seems to be 'nostalgia' about the past, nostalgia diffused in various ways: Lowenthal spoke about people's tendency to construct their identities and to preserve objects originating in an array of past periods[1]; Jameson spoke about the imitation of the past in art and the role of the past in contemporary culture in general.

Nevertheless, all the above theorists agree on one point: the obsession with the past hides a prevailing presentism; in Lowenthal's words, people "domesticate" the past in order to make it 'usable'. As Seixas and Wineburg have indicated this inclination could equally apply to students. Wineburg spoke of the recent past's use by students as if the latter past were a "faded present" (Wineburg, 2001: 17) while Seixas exposed how powerful the anachronistic filmic depiction of the past can be for

[1] Lowenthal comments that preservation has by now included equally the "recent past" and the "remote past", and at the same time the "humble past" and the "great past" (1981:14).

students (1993b). Within the above context Shemilt (1980: 24) and Ashby and Lee (1987: 74) commented on students' everyday "present empathy" and on students' tendency to see the past as no more than "an extension of the present".

Wineburg and Seixas have also commented on the fragmentation and the diversity that characterises students' contemporary world and especially the classroom reality. It is the latter multicultural reality that makes Wineburg, Seixas, Barton and possibly other educators urge for a more critical approach in history teaching; a "collective memory approach" in history teaching (Seixas, 2000: 21) seems to be inappropriate in the contemporary world that is mainly characterized by the existence of multiple, diverse and many times conflicting identities. Still, it is exactly this collective memory approach that is prevailing in the school curricula of many countries.

Greece is one of these countries; there is a certain Greek narrative that speaks about the continuity of the Greek culture throughout centuries. This narrative is sustained equally by the state and the 'private' society. The same narrative is also sustained by the 'landscape' in most of the Greek cities where layers of different past periods are still identifiable. How do Greek students make sense of all these layers of past around them? Most important, how do Greek students make sense not only of the variety of pasts that surround them but also of the contemporary diversity of the Greek society? Does their narrative help them to make sense of the present? These are some of the questions that this study attempts to explore in the following chapters.

Chapter 1: Literature review

Chapter 1 includes a discussion of the literature relevant to the thesis. The relevant literature comprises three parts: the theoretical part is about the philosophy of historical consciousness. The empirical part is an overview of the empirical work relevant to the subject. There is also a brief section that presents the Greek educational system, the curriculum of history and Greek history textbooks. Possible ideological implications of the curriculum and of the textbooks are also discussed.

Chapter 2: Methodology and Pilots

Chapter 2 comprises a description of the research traditions that are relevant to education. It also contains a description and justification of the options for this research. This chapter presents the two pilots that were conducted in Athens and discusses the processes that were followed and the instruments that were chosen.

Chapter 3: Account of the Main Data Collection and Methodology of the Analysis

Chapter 3 comprises an account of the main data collection and reports the final decisions made throughout fieldwork. Chapter three also explains the coding procedure and delineates the analysis process.

Chapter 4: Presentation of Categories (the 'endorsement' of the past)

Chapter 4 describes the four different clusters of categories that delineate the 'endorsement' of the past. These clusters are the following: the 'identity' past, the 'useful' past, the 'significant' past and the 'desired' past. These four different pasts explain why the students in this research endorsed the past.

Chapter 5: Presentation of Categories (the 'rejection' of the past and the 'balanced' stance) the 'change' task.

Chapter 5 describes the four different clusters of categories that delineate the 'rejection' of the past. These clusters are the following: the past that is 'not a part of our identity', the past that is 'not relevant to our problems', the 'not significant' past and the 'not desired' past. Chapter 5 also gives an account of what would be a 'balanced' student approach towards the past. Finally chapter 5 codifies students' stances in the 'change' task.

Chapter 6: The Context of the Analysis (the Greek narrative)

Chapter 6 locates narration schemas in students' account of Greek history (fourth task). The two main patterns located in students' answers are the following: first

referring to Greece's experience of sufferings and her resistance to invaders and cultural assimilation and second referring to the uniqueness of the Greek civilization.

Chapter 7: The Conclusion

Chapter 7 summarizes the category system and returns to the main questions of this study: it delineates the circumstances under which students refer to the past and the kinds of pasts students use. Finally it makes suggestions for the teaching of history in Greece and for subsequent research.

Chapter 1. Literature Review

1.1. INTRODUCTION

This chapter discusses the literature that is relevant to the research questions of this thesis: to what extent and under what circumstances do students refer to the past while addressing a current problem? In addition it will focus on the types of the past that students select. This research is particularly concerned with the historical consciousness of 15-year-old students in Greece.

1.1.1. Selectivity

This study emphasizes the selectivity employed by people when they refer to the past. The latter notion of selectivity refers to the circumstances under which people refer to the past and it is explored by a relevant research strategy. In this study various tasks were given to students to detect whether their past reference is dependent on specific content. The selectivity of people's reference to the past also refers to the type of past people make use of, for example whether they opt for the recent or the remote past.

The central argument in this literature presentation is that people's development of historical consciousness involves the articulation of selected past events in a narrative. These events are simultaneously considered to be salient and important to the lives of individuals and groups. When people resort to the past, they do so by including past events in a narrative. In this way they make sense of their experiences as they consider their present efforts and future plans.

1.1.2. Familiarity

Another argument in this literature presentation is that people while trying to make sense of their present experiences construct a past which seems to be familiar to their present: people sometimes opt for the remote cultural past because the latter offers them a sense of continuity and identity through time. Additionally national culture in the form of historic buildings and archaeological remains[1] constitutes also a part of

[1] In relation to Greece, while the ancient monuments constitute a "symbolic capital" for the people (Hamilakis and Yalouri, 1996: 119) they are also a part of people's everyday life and in consequence they 'intervene' in people's practical life. The conflict between the 'glorious' past and present needs

people's everyday life, a familiar reality. In this case the 'remote' cultural past apart from enriching and broadening peoples' everyday life, also becomes a part of it, a part of people's present.

Relevant literature also analyses people's predilection for a past that is recent and similar to their everyday life: the latter past is more easily adapted to people's present needs. The recent past may bear distinctive qualities similar to the qualities of the present so that people can draw analogies between the past and the present more easily. People's predisposition towards the remote cultural past, and at the same time towards the recent past, is indicative of people's predisposition towards a "practical" past (Oakeshott, 1983).

There are two parts to this chapter: the first (theoretical) part will present literature that defines the notion of historical consciousness and its components: memory and identity. Additionally Rüsen's typology of historical consciousness will be presented because it informed the first reading of the data in this study. Oakeshott's and Lowenthal's work that delineated different types and uses of the past will also be presented in this chapter: their work also informed the reading of the data in this study.

The second part will provide an overview of the empirical work relevant to this subject. It focuses on research about students' historical consciousness that has been conducted both in Europe and the USA.

has been described by Herzfeld as the tension between "monumental and social time" (Herzfeld in Galland, 1995: 142).

1.2. THEORETICAL CONSIDERATIONS

1.2.1. Do students refer to the past?

1.2.1.1. Historical Consciousness as a narration process

- Rüsen's account of historical consciousness
(the selectivity of historical consciousness, its narrative aspect)

The questions of this study, whether students refer to the past, under what circumstances and what types of the past students use, actually refer to the notion of Greek students' historical consciousness. In this section several theoretical assumptions about historical consciousness are displayed through the work of Rüsen.

Rüsen is a central figure in deliberations over historical consciousness. There are at least two reasons why his work is extensively presented here. First, he describes the process in which historical consciousness develops in the form of a typology of historical consciousness. Rüsen provides a typology of people's possible constructs in reference to their orientation in time. This study also aims at presenting students' thoughts about the past in certain circumstances. Second, Rüsen connects historical consciousness with politics through moral values or moral reasoning. This study uses tasks of political and historical content in order to examine students' relationship to the past.

According to Rüsen, "The linguistic form within which historical consciousness realizes its function of orientation is that of the *narrative*" (Rüsen, 1993: 68, my emphasis). As a consequence Rüsen also examines the selection processes which people undergo and notes that selection processes are also signifying processes. Certain points or events from the past are selected as *important* and used in a framework that tells a convincing *story* of one's life combining the dimensions of present, past and future. In other words to narrate is exactly a process of attributing meaning to a mere "succession of events" that in this way becomes a "meaningful sequence" (Cercadillo, 2000: 39). The criteria by which significance is attributed can vary (Cercadillo, 2000: 57).

As for the individuals and their possible political or other decisions, the events to be selected are usually considered as salient to a specific problem. But before the actual orientation takes place and is articulated in a narrative form, a process of "interpretation" has also to be activated. This process involves a specific 'use' of the past, and perhaps before that the expression of an appreciation of the past. When the historical orientation is concluded a certain *historical identity* will have been realized by the individual.

Thus, one's *historical identity* is the narrative of one's life or a *historical narrative* and constitutes a nexus between past, present and future, a "meaningful nexus" (Rüsen, 1993: 67). As Rüsen also makes explicit, a narrative "organizes the internal unity of these three dimensions of time by a concept of *continuity*.... and serves to establish the *identity* of its authors and listeners" (Rüsen, 1993: 5, my emphasis).

Political problems constitute only one type of the many problems people face in their everyday life. Political problems are especially interesting for this research because historical thinking is usually considered to coexist with political commitment. Both historical and political thinking express an inclination for political emancipation. History philosophers like Ankersmit and Rüsen have long discussed the relevance that history brings to political understanding or the opposite (Ankersmit, 2001).

This is one reason why this thesis focuses on students' orientation towards time in circumstances in which they face political dilemmas or problems. Rüsen construes political expression as dependent upon an orientation in time. As a consequence, Rüsen's work can inform the analysis of the data in this thesis. Rüsen urges that his typology or alternative assumptions about historical consciousness be grounded on empirical work (Rüsen, 1993: 79) and this is another reason why he is presented in this review.

- Rüsen's typology of historical identities

Rüsen suggests a typology of historical identities that correspond to different types of historical consciousness. All of them are also moral identities. This typology distinguishes four types of historical consciousness and their implications for orientation of "internal life", "external life", "moral values" and "moral reasoning".

These types (that may also coexist in the same judgement) are actually four different types of reasoning that make use of the past in four different ways. The "traditional" type complies with tradition in an uncritical way, values have to be pre-given. The "exemplary" type uses the past as a deposit of examples that can guide modern life. The "critical" type usually rejects the past and emphasizes the differences between past and present. Finally the "genetic" type recognizes continuity in history, as changes occur in order to permit permanence; each past period is developed genetically from a previous one, values in this case are "temporalized" (Rüsen, 1993: 81). As Rüsen states in the same paper (Rüsen, 1993: 77) there is progress among the several types, as the reasoning becomes far more complex, and each type constitutes a precondition for the next. On the other hand, since the evolution of types actually indicates different ways to adapt to a given reality, this evolution is also a process of "learning", and Rüsen sees it in this way (Rüsen, 1993: 79).

According to Rüsen historical consciousness includes the mental operations (emotional and cognitive, conscious and unconscious) through which experienced time in the form of "memory" is used as a means of "orientation" in everyday life, so history is perceived as meaningful time (Rüsen, 2001a: 2). Starting with this definition the next part of this review is concerned with the separate elements of historical consciousness and especially with *memory* and *identity.*

1.2.1.2. Memory/Identity (their narrative aspect)

Memory and identity will be both discussed in their individual and social dimension. Emphasis will be placed on the selective, thus narrative dimension of memory. The latter is discussed as a part of memory's social dimension. Memory is discussed within the context of cognitive psychology as developed by Bartlett and within the sociological context developed by Halbwachs. Reference is also made to collective memory and to its relation with historiography. Additionally emphasis is also given to the provisional and dynamic character of memories through the 'reading' of Halbwachs and Vygotsky.

As for identity the focus will be on the fact that identities occur out of effort subjects make (either as groups or individuals) to explain contingencies that occur in their lives. This study emphasizes the fact that memory and identity can be described as

"efforts after meaning" (Bartlett, ed. 1995: 84) and that they constitute narration processes.

- Memory

Memory is 'central' to historical consciousness since it basically refers to a certain experience of the past from which individuals orientate their everyday life in the present. This implies that people motivated by a certain experience of the present refer to and make use of the past in various ways, while simultaneously addressing future problems, and expectations. In this way memory, either in the form of the historical and other narratives about the past, or in the form of various commemorating objects and processes, 'mediates' the past to the present.

Memory's selectivity (Bartlett)

There has been a long debate over the phenomenon of memory, and more specifically about whether or not it develops in a 'natural' and internal way to the individual or as a social process. Bartlett (1866-1969) considered as the "founder of cognitive psychology" (Saito, 2000: 155) described the development of all higher cognitive processes, including memory, in a socio-centric way. The reason why Bartlett is presented in this section is because he emphasized the contribution of social interaction and of specific cultural traditions to the individual's cognitive development. This is very important because, as Saito reminds us, cognitive psychology is generally taken as asocial. Taking into consideration the present development of "cultural psychology", it is interesting that Bartlett and Vygotsky adopted this specific research tendency in their work so early (Vygotsky and Bartlett developed their theories in the 1930s).

Saito distinguishes several levels of analysis in Bartlett's work regarding higher cognitive processes ("individual", "social-individual" and others, Saito, 2000: 158) but the important thing is that even at the level of individual analysis the interaction between individual and society is apparent. Bartlett views selection as the key function in the development of all these cognitive processes. He posits that people select what they perceive or remember by adopting certain criteria as significant.

These significance criteria usually refer to the groups people belong to. In this way people's selection is usually "directed" by some group:

> In perceiving, in imagining, in *remembering proper,* [my emphasis] and in constructive work, i.e. thinking, the passing fashion of the group, the social catch-word, the prevailing approved general interest, the persistent social custom and institution set the stage and direct the action, (Bartlett in Saito, 2000: 158).

"Selection" guides all higher cognitive processes like perception, thought or memory. It also guides physiological functions, like listening (Saito, 2000: 157). In other words, what we understand or remember, and even what we see or listen to is partly 'pre-selected' because we are predisposed to certain choices by the groups we are involved in.

Memory as reconstruction, its narrative aspect (in search of a 'familiar' past, Bartlett and Halbwachs)

Bartlett emphasized memory's reconstructive function and described the effort of an individual's attempt to remember as an "effort after meaning" process (Bartlett, ed. 1995: 84). As Bartlett also makes explicit, people have the tendency to accommodate incoming material to 'forms of narrative' they are already accustomed with. People, either wittingly or unwittingly, while reproducing a newly presented material, actually 'rewrite' it depending on personal or social bias. Bartlett adds that the whole process is an "affective" one and not an "intellectual" one. In this way what is supposed to be "rational" for the people ends up in being the most "familiar".

The social perspective, within a sociological epistemological context, is chiefly attributed to Maurice Halbwachs who argued, "... the mind *reconstructs* its memories under the pressure of *society*" (Halbwachs, ed. 1992: 51, my emphasis). Here two ideas are salient: first the societal factor and second the circumstantial one, both of which refer to the time and the conditions under which a memory is reconstructed, and not preserved and revived as Halbwachs emphasizes elsewhere (Halbwachs, ed. 1992: 40).

Despite the fact that "as a form of awareness memory is wholly and intensely personal" (Lowenthal, 1985: 194) and despite the deep impact of "autobiographical memories" (Halbwachs, ed.1992: 29 and 1980: 50) Halbwachs insists that people remember mostly as *group members* and that memories associated with groups are bound to last longer than those ones which are personally (in an exclusive way) experienced. Lowenthal (1985: 196) notes that our childhood years, where we certainly need the others to recall and form perhaps our most personal memories, provide a particularly strong example. He notes, "It is interesting that we acquire the first sense of identity, of our personal continuity through what others are inclined to tell us about our birth or our childhood."

Memory originating in social interaction (Vygotsky and Wertsch)

Vygotsky and others in the constructivist tradition see memory dialectically, as an interaction between the individual and society. Vygotsky (ed. 1994) also considered memory as a "higher psychological function" (what Bartlett referred to as "process") acquired within a social context. Whereas Bartlett described how people select their memories, Vygotsky described the actual process by which people manage to remember. According to Vygotsky and others, what happens is that people modify or broaden their originally psychological capacity to remember (natural memory) by selecting 'objects' from their environment that get connected to what is to be remembered. This implies that if memory as an individual performance initially requires an 'environment' to develop, it is difficult to imagine how it could be detached from this environmental or 'human' context. Furthermore, the objects selected as reminders, *mediate* memories, so that there is no direct link between what there is to be remembered and the people that have to remember it. These objects also tend to be part of a certain culture or social environment and form a part of what a group of people use to communicate. To conclude and following only a psychological account, as evidenced in the work of Bartlett and Vygotsky (as opposed to a sociological description of the memory process), *the development of memory depends upon interaction.*

Whereas Vygotsky emphasized the 'indirect' and mediated character of memory, Wertsch following "the intellectual heritage grounded largely in the writings of Vygotsky and other Russian scholars" focused on the *cultural tools* or *mediational*

means provided by specific sociocultural settings (Wertsch, 2002: 10). Specifically, Wertsch analysed the function of official accounts of the past in the construction of the collective memory. The latter work has informed this study because students' construction of the past is analysed within the context of the Greek educational system and especially the policies concerning history. The latter policies are informed by the predominance of an official national narrative.

- Identity

Identity (the narrative aspect of identity)

The following paragraphs discuss the personal and social dimension of identity. If historical consciousness is a narration process (Rüsen, 1993: 3 and 2005: 148) and is based on memory's selectivity, identity is the outcome of this signifying or selection process.

Identity literally means "semper idem" (Straub, 2002: 65). Consequently it means the identification of one with oneself, the sense of one's continuity throughout life and its contingencies. Additionally it means a coherent 'narrative' of that life that would ideally include who one thinks he or she is, what one would like to be, (Straub, 2002: 63) and what one could be. So one's perception of one's self has these three essential time dimensions: an explanation or interpretation of one's past, an assessment of one's present and expectations for the future. The formation of identity is in this way a creative process as it orientates people in life and gives meaning to it.

The above synthesis of one's experiences of present problems, of knowledge of the past, and of expectations or fears for the future, takes, according to Straub, the form of a "structure". This structure bears a synchronical and a diachronical dimension: synchronical in the sense of an individual that tolerates differences, ambiguities and copes with them; diachronical, in the sense of the same individual who maintains a sense of unity throughout time, despite changes that are continuously taking place. The latter constitutes what Lorenz (Lorenz, 2001: 6) calls "a personal historical identity", which is "identity through change in time". Lorenz defines it as a "set of characteristics", (Straub's "structure") which the subject develops over time in interaction with its environment, (Lorenz, 2001).

Personal and collective identity

If individuals' identities are formed out of people's interaction with their environment, a similar process is followed by groups or by group members. Rüsen (2001b: 255) seems to believe that collective identities develop from common experiences of traumatic events. He speaks about "contingencies" which "disorganize" people and constitute a crisis in their lives in the same way that this can occur on a personal level.

Ankersmit (2002: 81) goes further, supporting the theory that the "pain" originating in a traumatic situation does not provoke itself a certain expression of historical consciousness; the pain that follows a crisis will be finally integrated into a person's or a people's identity. It is the distance from this pain which is created in a second phase that allows the formation of a certain historical identity. He actually speaks about a person's "withdrawal" or "anachoresis" from reality so that the latter can be observed and in the end be explained. In this way the pain becomes the object of thought and analysis or reflection, and this 'alienation' of one's own pain has its parallel in the process of making history. This is because in order to make history one needs to be able to distinguish between past and present and to decide in this way that there are things to be understood in the past. Accordingly the first repulsion for the unknown[1] past transforms into interest.

All the three scholars, Straub, Rüsen, Ankersmit, using perhaps a non historical vocabulary ("trauma", "shock", "crisis", "identity crisis" etc, in Roth, M. and Salas, C., 2001: 2) insist on the formation of *historical consciousness* and thus of an *identity,* personal or collective, as a response to something that seems to be unintelligible. Both historical consciousness and identity are the results of a very creative work which takes certain cognitive moves, such as the withdrawal of the individual or people from the reality to be explained. Their realization (of historical consciousness and identity) coincides as well with a feeling on the part of the people that they can intervene and change the world. "Causality of fate" is replaced in people's mental schemas by a "value guided commitment" to the world (Rüsen 2001b: 259).

[1] The "past is a foreign country" experience, the expression used by Lowenthal, 1985.

1.2.2. What types of the past do students refer to?

- Remote past and recent past

Lowenthal remarked that "the past we depend on to make sense of the present is, however, mostly recent;" (Lowenthal, 1985: 40). The recent past and the present appear to be similar while they are equally familiar. On the other hand, Rüsen noted that a recent past could not be a "historical" past.

> Only if memory goes beyond the limits of the lifespan of the person or the group concerned should one speak of a specific "historical past". "Historical" indicates a certain temporal distance between past and present ... (Rüsen, 2005: 132).

Nevertheless, a remote past is not necessarily a 'historical' remote past either: there is also the 'mythical' remote past which serves present needs and consequently constitutes a 'practical' past. The next paragraphs discuss the distinction between a 'historical' past and a 'practical' past.

- Historical past and practical past

The terms "historical" past and "practical" past are mostly associated with the work of Oakeshott who distinguished between a "practical" past which "is related to the *present* ... [a past] used for the satisfaction of our wants" (Oakeshott, 1983: 14) and a "historical" past which is "concerned *only with the past*" (Oakeshott, 1983: 27, my emphasis). This study uses the categories of the "historical" and "practical" past because it also focuses on the types of the past students refer to: do students refer to a "practical", "fixed" and "given" past of everyday life or to the "counterintuitive" historical past (Lee, 2005a: 33)? According to Oakeshott,[1] while the "practical" past is "remembered" by people, the "historical" past constitutes the product of historical enquiry. A "historical" past is actually a "historically understood past", a past constructed through the discipline of history and "it was never itself present"[2].

[1] Oakeshott, 1983: 15.

[2] Ibid: 33.

Lowenthal also asserts that people's preoccupation with the past actually alienates them from the latter: "Viewed as history, the past is a foreign country; viewed as heritage, it is highly familiar", (Lowenthal, 1998: 139). Heritage constitutes the identity past: the identity past is perhaps the only remote past that does not alienate people; on the contrary it allows people to be identified with certain groups.

Nevertheless, Rüsen emphasizes the fact that "practical life" is involved in the writing of history because professional historiography follows the same narration process as the development of historical consciousness. In this way the interests and the needs of everyday life inform the historian in his work. Historiography follows the same processes of signification and selection of the facts that one meets in the development of the individuals' narratives.

On the other hand, despite the narrative aspect and in consequence the selectivity that characterize the discipline of history, one cannot help acknowledging the fact that there has always seemed to exist a distinction between the "practical" and the "historical" past: the "practical past" is supposed to be a fixed past that can easily be "recalled" to accommodate present needs. On the contrary, the "historical past" can only be "inferred"[1] by the historian and constitutes a provisional interpretation of a reality that has not survived itself. Rüsen concludes that despite the fact that the work of historians "is influenced by and related to *practical life* ... [history] has its own realm for gaining knowledge beyond the *practical purposes* of life orientation ..." (Rüsen, 2005: 135, my emphasis).

- The "practical past" of collective memory and the "historical past" of historiography.

Halbwachs identified memories with groups and emphasized the fact that not only do people acquire their memories from certain groups, but they also acquire the means to reconstruct these memories from the same groups: "memories are always recalled to people externally" (Halbwachs, ed. 1992: 38). In other words people recollect their past relying on "social frameworks" of memory: the family, the various religion groups or the social classes are only some of these social frameworks. Different

[1] Ibid.

groups construct different versions of the past or different 'memories' and as a consequence they also construct different identities. This is the reason why groups "erase" from their memory all that might divide them (Halbwachs, ed. 1992: 183).

If "the past is constructed not as fact but as myth to serve the interest of a particular community" (Confino, 1997: 1387) then the common awareness of this past serves different purposes from history or the historical past. As a result, identity pasts are "practical pasts". The means by which collective memories construct specific identities is *selectivity*. People, either on an individual or on a group basis, select 'pasts' that accommodate their present preoccupations.

Halbwachs, who was also the first to call the latter common awareness of the past *collective memory*, described in detail the differences between the past of the collective memory and the past related to the discipline of history: whereas history emphasizes "differences and contrasts, and highlights the diverse features of a group" collective memory establishes the continuity of a group, and whereas history records changes in time, collective memory "reties the thread of continuity" between past and present (Halbwachs, ed. 1980: 82).

Additionally, whereas collective memory uses an extended present as past, in a way that the past no longer exists, "for the historian the two periods have equivalent reality" (Halbwachs, ed. 1980: 82). Novick makes this explicit when he notices that memory "denies the pastness of its objects and insists on their continuing presence", (1999: 4). Historical consciousness usually establishes the continuity of a specific truth about a past event, in a way that the latter truth loses its historicity and becomes almost natural.

Finally, while collective memory "requires the support of a group delimited in space and time" (Novick, 1999: 84) history or historical memory "goes beyond the lifespan of the person or group concerned" (Rüsen, 2005: 132).

A good example of how collective memory reconstructs the past, in order to serve different purposes at different time points, is given in Novick's account of Holocaust memory in America (1999: 3) where Halbwachs' theory about collective memory is used as a theoretical framework. Novick describes Halbwachs' theory of memory as

an insight into, "... the ways in which present concerns determine what of the past we remember and how we remember it" (Novick, 1999: 3). Novick argued that different circumstances in American politics from 1950 onwards led to different public stances towards the Holocaust. There were times (between 1950 and 1970) when the Jewish people of the USA did not refer to the Holocaust at all. There were also other periods when the same event acquired traumatic dimensions for them. The 'historical' significance of the specific event changed many times following contemporary political preoccupations.

In conclusion, regarding Halbwachs' perception of (collective) memory, memory is reconstructed in order to respond to present needs, thoughts and preoccupations: as exemplified by events in the USA concerning the Holocaust memory. According to Halbwachs this also explains the "diversity" and "change" among one's memories on an individual level whereby it seems that we select and reconstruct different memories or 'pasts' according to our present worries and our involvement in different groups (Halbwachs, ed. 1992: 81).

Memory, either individual or collective, implies no straight relationship to the past because the latter past is mediated through a specific group's identity; individuals remember in groups, they "always use social frameworks when they remember" (Halbwachs, ed. 1992: 40). Despite the fact that historians seek to write a "unitary history" (Halbwachs ed.1980: 83) they themselves cannot help seeing "materialized" (Nora, 1989: 14) memory (for example archives) in their own present way. Thus, the past cannot be identified with certain historical accounts.

1.2.3. Referring to the past is a narration process, thus a process of constructing an identity.

According to the literature above, memory, historiography and historical consciousness seem to bear common characteristics: they are all *selective* processes with a *circumstantial, dynamic* and *reconstructive* character. While remembering seems to be an "effort after meaning" process, historical narratives are considered as modes of "explanation" and understanding human action. (Mink, 1998: 124); historiography in the form of historical narratives is a "sense generating process" (Rüsen: 2005: 67).

On the other hand, while Halbwachs explains why remembering the past is a dynamic and changing process originating in present interests, Rüsen underlines the dynamic, changing character of the historiography which depends on the "Lebenspraxis", the practical life of every époque (Megill, 1994: 50 and Rüsen, 2005: 133). Memory is selective according to Bartlett while White[1], Barton[2]and Levstik and Lee[3] also emphasize the selective processes followed by the historian in relation to the sources' material.

To sum up, any reference to the past made either by the historians (historiography) or by other subjects when they 'remember', seems to originate in the present and ends with the construction of a specific (historical) identity or type of historical consciousness. An important consideration is whether or not students are aware of the latter nature of the 'past' and the discipline of history.

1.3. EMPIRICAL CONSIDERATIONS

1.3.1. The psychology of historical consciousness

This is an empirical study of the historical consciousness of fifteen-year-old students in Greece and the following section locates research on historical consciousness within the wider context of research in history in education. Additionally the debate and the factors that shape 'history in education' are presented. In order to do this attention is given to two main groups of researchers: the British educators in history and the American educators.

This study aims to explore Greek students' attitudes towards the past and in so doing maps students' constructs and their appreciation or non appreciation of the past. Thus, it follows the Anglo-American empirical research tradition in history education; the latter tradition examines school history from the psychological perspective. Educators of history typically are interested in the psychological requirements of the understanding of the discipline by the students.

[1] White, 2000: 398.

[2] Barton and Levstik, 2004: 137.

[3] Lee, 2005: 60.

Furthermore, this study seeks to comment on how the cultural or social environment of the students might have informed their performance in the tasks: thus, this study belongs to that branch of cognitive psychology that situates "human thought and learning in multiple contexts" (Levstik and Barton, 1996: 533). Within "sociocultural constructivism"[1] and the wider context of *cultural psychology* individual mental psychological processes are construed as "conditioned by an earlier history of the community to which they have no direct access" (Cole, 1996: 98). Cole attributes the idea above to Wundt[2], while he explains that people interact with the world that surrounds them 'indirectly' by the use of "artefacts" or "tools"[3]. People seem to be living in a "double world": the natural world and the world of 'tools' which mediates the 'natural' world to them (Cole and Engestrom, 1993: 6). Historical narratives constitute a type of cultural tool, and as Wertsch explains, these narratives are expected to function as "identity resources" (Wertch, 2001a: 35). In relation to this study a question would be whether and in what ways the Greek official national narrative informs Greek students' construction of the past.

The practice of mapping students' constructs about the past and the discipline of history (the discipline of history perceived as the students' perception of second order historical concepts) was initiated in Britain by Thompson at the Institute of Education in London (1972). Subsequently Dickinson and Lee published their own analytical mapping of students' understandings in 1978 (Dickinson, A. and Lee, P., 1978). In 1972 the "History 13-16" project which emphasized the teaching of history as a "form of knowledge"[4] was initiated in Leeds. During the 1970s and the 1980s Dickinson, Lee and Ashby in London and Shemilt who worked independently in Leeds, produced similar sets of categories which codified students understanding of

[1] "Sociocultural and constructivist perspective on historical understanding ..." as used by Barton and McCully (2005: 90).

[2] Wilhelm Wundt appears in many writings of Cole as the researcher that focused in the study of "... historically accumulated, culturally organized knowledge..." (Cole and Engestrom, 1993: 1). Cole cites from Wundt's work "Elements of folk psychology" (London: Allen & Unwin, 1921).

[3] "Artefacts" or "tools" as used by Cole (1996: 108).

[4] "Evaluation study", Shemilt, 1980: 4.

the discipline of history[1]. The above tradition was followed by researchers in the USA, in Canada and in Europe.

The American researchers were especially interested in the origin of students' perceptions about the past. Their approach emphasizes the social context of students' responses and the cultural "tools" by which history or the past is mediated to them and in this way the American research especially informs this study.

No matter whether the emphasis is on students' thought processes as such or on the origin of specific students' choices, researchers in both the USA and Britain focus on students' understandings of history and attempt to map these understandings. In the following sections a short account will be given of the educational and historical context that led to the development of the psychology of learning.

1.3.2. History in education as the psychological requirements of history (the focus on the "structure" of the discipline)

- Changes in historiography

History as a discipline focuses first, on the awareness of the two existing time entities, past and present, and second on certain assumptions about their relationship. These assumptions usually refer to differences or similarities between past and present and have implications as for the role of historiography. Modern and postmodern theorists of history, as opposed to the positivists, emphasized for years the 'dynamic', ever changing, and certainly reconstructive nature of the historical past.

The latter development in historiography also influenced history in education. During the last three decades, modern and post-modern influences have determined that educators now view history and the role of the historian more critically. Indeed attention to the contested and constructed nature of history has also influenced the way history is taught to students. A tendency to transfer the educational focus in

[1] Lee and Ashby 2000: 199-222. "Empathy" and "rational understanding" were the two second order concepts where the analyses of Lee et al and Shemilt coincided.

history from the acquisition of content to the "processes" followed by historians has become increasingly evident.

The "New History" movement in history in education partially owed its origins to the "New History" movement that emerged in the 1970s in Europe, especially in France. The "great tradition" (Husbands, 2003: 12) in history in education was challenged by "alternative" (Husbands, 2003: 12) traditions, in the same way that "traditional" historiographical practices were also challenged by more modern ones. The "alternative" traditions in history in education are usually clustered under the same title, "New History", but as Lee notes (Lee, 1995: 76) the title has to be used cautiously because different people use it to indicate different practices. Nevertheless "New History" in its broadest sense encompassed a movement that challenged, and in some cases replaced, traditional views of history and historiography.

- The psychology of learning

Other factors that contributed to the changes in history in education were the widespread acceptance of constructivist theories about learning, along with the post-Piagetian tradition of the 1980s. Constructivism attributed an active role to the learner indicated by the word "construct", which implies action and personal involvement, not just reception of knowledge. It also paid attention to students' pre-existing ideas which are supposed to adapt to new demands and challenges. Some elements of Piagetian theory were, however, considered to be too restricting for history: the Piagetian stages were age-bound and referred to "general operations", not students' performance in specific areas. According to the Piagetian school of psychology, history was not to be taught to young students at a level other than the information level, because it demanded abstract reasoning. In other words, students could acquire some encyclopaedic knowledge but not understand and explain historical events, actions or processes. Another problem with the rigid acceptance of the Piagetian stages was that they developed in a linear way which could not be skipped by individual students. The latter defects were then tackled by the post-Piagetian tradition (Berti, 1999: 251), which gave an emphasis to development within the context of a specific discipline (Bermudez and Jaramillo, 2001: 146). A *specific domain* approach was then sought for history as well as for other disciplines

of a 'social' not strictly scientific content. Advocates of new history agreed that the "structure" of the several disciplines should be taught to enhance students' development in more productive ways and the emphasis shifted from students' possible cognitive operations to specific types of teaching. Possible age-bound obstacles in students' understanding could be overcome if the educational processes adapted accordingly.

The emphasis that was finally given to the 'disciplinary context' of thought, as each cognitive domain or discipline was supposed to demand differentiated thinking and as a consequence differentiated training, led to an additional emphasis on the *context* of the thinking process in general: the research context (research setting and differentiated content of tasks) and the sociocultural context of the students who were participating in specific research processes became a part of the research questions; students' thinking began to be analysed in interaction with specific factors. Recent work, especially in Canada and in the USA, focuses on the sociocultural context of students' performance and in the "consumption" of "official" and "unofficial" cultural tools by the students (Wertsch, 2002). While the idea of "global" stages of development was abandoned, it was widely accepted that students perform differently depending on their familiarity with types of disciplines, research context and their culture: peculiarities of students' sociocultural environment might function either as "affordances"[1] or "constraints" in problem solving situations.

- Britain, the curriculum and assessment issues

Political and educational changes in Britain and especially the imposition of a National Curriculum for the first time in 1991, accompanied by a need for assessment that ought to conform to pre-established criteria, finally gave emphasis to the "structure" of the discipline. Despite the fact that many conservative advocates were in favour of a "content" approach to history along the lines of the "great tradition" (Lee, 1995: 111) the final curriculum orders for history stressed that students should be familiar with the disciplinary nature of history. Furthermore the "structure" of the discipline or the second-order concepts that organize the historical

[1] "Affordances" and "constraints" as in Wertsch, 2002. "Affordances" is a translation from a Russian psychological term and it means "advantages".

content could function as a basis for assessment in history. In this way empirical research conducted in Britain about students' understandings of history (Lee et al 1993 and 1998) was extremely useful because it provided educators with "a basis for progression in children's understanding in history" (Lee, Dickinson and Ashby, 1998: 227).

1.3.3. The two research traditions

- Research in Britain

Shemilt and the Schools Council Project, History 13-16

Shemilt worked on models of progression of students' ideas about the discipline of history. More specifically he presented students' ideas that focused on the methodology followed by historians and on the nature of historical accounts, (Shemilt, 1987 and 1983). Shemilt strongly endorsed two ideas. He advocated the necessity of analysing the psychological requirements of the discipline of history in an exclusive way that focused on the structure of the specific discipline, "... the object of the evaluation (the evaluation of the Council History Project) was not to elucidate the formal properties common to and underlying children's ideas, but rather to investigate the substance of these ideas themselves", (Shemilt, 1980: 41). The latter remark distinguishes his work from previous work that attempted to assess children's performance in history within a Piagetian context.

Shemilt also claimed that 'mistakes' that students usually make in history have to do more with their misunderstandings of the methodology of history than with their ignorance or misunderstandings of factual/historical details or of historical information, (Shemilt, 1983: 4). Thus, history educators would need to focus on the "structure" of the discipline.

Institute of Education, London, CHATA

The team at the Institute of Education, University of London (Lee, Dickinson and Ashby) produced models of progression of students' ideas about the discipline of history. Small-scale qualitative research was carried out over a period of fifteen years, in which pupils were engaged in solving historical problems that aimed at

detecting students' tacit understandings. The main historical concepts the research focused on were "explanation" and "enquiry". The CHATA[1] project that took place from 1991 to 1995 initially tested and refined provisional models of children's understanding derived from earlier work (Lee et al: 1996).

"Levels of progression" in pupils' understanding were therefore constructed which were always considered "provisional" or having a "limited life" (Lee, Ashby and Dickinson, 1996: 56), in the sense that they were set to be tested many times against pupils' data and that they corresponded to certain educational and other conditions. What distinguished one level from the other was the extent to which these separate "sets of ideas" were adequate to solve the historical problems given by the researchers (Lee, Ashby and Dickinson 1993: 7). The most "powerful" ideas belonged to the highest levels and provided a deeper understanding of the historian's methods.

The underlying idea behind this research was that children approached the past with "tacit understandings" (Lee, 1991) of history. These constituted common sense ideas transferred from every day life to school, where the first encounter of children with pieces of academic work takes place along with their practice in certain methodologies. This 'intrusion' of everyday ideas in students' understanding of the discipline of history was also noted by Shemilt, (1983: 48).

The research conducted so far by Lee et al in students' understanding of second order historical concepts suggests that students do not proceed through levels in a linear way (at least on an individual basis). Indeed, students might skip levels in haphazard and non sequential manners (Lee, 1995: 101). Students generally exhibited differentiated performance in the various second order concepts or in the various tasks that examined the same concept. Finally the researchers concluded there was a wide variation in children's understanding: "some of the 7 year olds in their study already have higher levels of understanding than some of the 14 year olds" (Hughes, 1996: 10).

Shemilt, Lee, Dickinson and Ashby emphasized the need to 'structure' the curricula on the "structure" of the discipline and not exclusively on the historical content.

[1] CHATA: Concepts of History and Teaching Approaches.

They emphasized "progression" rather "aggregation" of knowledge (Lee, 1995), and their models (which often were very similar) gave substance to demands for a more critical school history that would make the students familiar with the discipline of history.

Implications for this research

The research emphasis exhibited by British scholars on students' understanding of the discipline of history supports this research study, which focuses on the appreciation or non appreciation of the past exhibited by the fifteen year old students in Greece. The assumption behind this study is that students' appreciation or non appreciation of the past depends on their tacit understandings of the past-present relationship. The pilot data of this research indicates that a strong idea that typically shapes Greek students' non appreciation of the past, concerns the differences between past and present.

In the same way the levels delineated in Shemilt's and Lee's models of progression in students' ideas about history were constructed based on students' assumptions about differences between past and present: students of the 'lower' levels expressed incomprehensibility and uneasiness towards the past, they even 'rejected' the past (the 'divi' past category, in Ashby and Lee, 1987: 68). At a higher level, students tended to use the past as an extension of the present expressing an "everyday empathy" for the past actors (Ashby and Lee 1987: 74). Only at the highest levels did students manage to create the right distance between past and present and conceive the past actors' actions within the context of the beliefs, values, goals and knowledge of these people' own remote epoque.

The findings above, concerning the incomprehensibility of the past on the part of the students, inform this study because the same incomprehensibility of the past is also implicit in the Greek pilot data. Even in the cases where Greek students 'endorse' the past, they usually do so relying on a past "allegedly similar"[1] to their present. The latter Greek students' construct could be an expression of another sort of presentism, of the type Shemilt 'complained' about: "If history is seen as relevant (to students'

[1] Past "allegedly similar" to the present is an expression borrowed from Oakeshott (1983: 16).

lives) merely because it deals with people like themselves, then *the past is seen as no more than an extension of the present;*" (Shemilt,1980: 24).

More specifically, Shemilt's work on how students perceive "change" in history, (Shemilt, 1980: 35, 1983: 7, and 2000: 89-90), and Lee's pilot work on how students see the consequences of the above changes (Lee, 2002: 27-28) are of direct importance to this research. Lee notes that students' theories about "change" in history shape their stances towards the past and its usefulness.

Furthermore, Lee's latest empirical work (2002) exploring the relationship between students' orientation in time and the types of the past they use, also informed this study: first by providing insights into students' uses of the past. Second, in relation to the research instruments used in this study.

- Research in the USA and Canada

American scholars concentrate mainly on the ways students' perceptions about the past and the discipline of history are shaped by different environments. They also tend to focus on the non-official 'tools' students use to understand the past: the popular culture (like cinema), and the knowledge and the experience provided by the students' families.

American researchers while locating all these cases where students' everyday ideas "distort"[1] their understanding of the discipline of history, nonetheless insist on the inclusion and use of this unofficial material in the school lessons: first students' misunderstanding should be challenged in the classroom. Second unofficial material and students' 'culture' might prove to be an 'affordance' for the students to develop historical thinking. 'Culture' here is used in the sense of shared cultural "resources" (Larsson, 2001: 12): such as routines, language, patterns of thought which are embraced by members of the same community either in a conscious way or not. It is also important here to pay attention to the distinction Wertsch makes between "imagined" and the "implicit" communities (Wertsch, 2001a). Wertsch believes that people might be sharing the way of thinking of a group which does not officially constitute a group. On the whole, according to the American 'school' of history

[1] "Distortion" of historical knowledge as used in Barton (1996a).

teaching, educators should be sensitive to students' communities and cultures and adapt their teaching 'strategies' accordingly.

Barton and Levstik emphasized equally the 'affordances' of the non-official tools like "material culture", "popular culture" and "family experiences" (Levstik and Barton 1996) and the constraints of official tools like the national narratives (Barton, 2001ab and Barton and Levstik, 1998).

Official tools like national narratives seem to create constraining frameworks for students: in comparative research that was conducted by Barton in the USA and Northern Ireland American students appeared to conceive of history exclusively as a resource of national identity (Barton, 2001a). In contrast to the above American findings, in Northern Ireland students claimed that they learned history so as to know about different peoples while they generally exposed to a more complex way of thinking. Barton attributed these differences to the contrasting curricula that exist in these two countries: while students in the USA are taught the narrative of national progress, students in Northern Ireland are learning about the social and material life of many different peoples at different moments in history (Barton, 2001b: 898). Different political contexts and different social needs produce different cultural tools like the curricula above.

Barton and Levstik exposed the power of the American official framework of "national progress and expanding rights" also in the case of 'not compatible' events: in a second research study conducted in the USA students managed to integrate even the ambiguous and negative episodes of the American history in the main 'plot' (Barton and Levstik, 1998: 496).

National narratives are not the only narratives that provoke distortions of the historical truth: nearly all narratives do so. Lee exploring students' empathy and Barton studying students' perception of change reached similar conclusions about students' construction of the past: students in the USA seemed to believe in change as "rational development" (Barton, 1996: 56) in a way that a "divi" past was implied in their answers (Lee and Ashby, 2001: 26). In other words, the more recent the past the better, while the past existed solely to lead to the present. Barton associated the

above disciplinary perception with the "fictional" narratives with which students are familiar (Barton, 1996: 52).

Nevertheless there are cases where the students' cultural resources may function as 'affordances' in their historical understanding. In their studies about children's understanding of historical time, Barton and Levstik asked students to sequence chronologically a series of photographs (Levstik and Barton, 1996; Barton and Levstik, 1996; Barton, 2002). The students generally were successful at the tasks partly because "history that can be seen" is easier for children as visual images produce more and richer associations (Levstik and Barton, 1996: 570). Another factor that helped the students in the tasks was the possibility they had to use several cultural conventions though not necessarily the ones used by the adults or the historians; they used "cultural tools" like "family stories", "family activities", "popular culture" and "instruction" as "intertexts". Despite the fact that they did not tend to use dates and chronologies, students appeared to understand their function: they even grouped the photographs into periods after having sequenced them. They justified their moves by *comparisons* they made (Levstik and Barton, 1996: 550) between what existed and what followed. Their comparisons were based mostly on their personal and family experience of aspects of everyday material life, like the ways of dressing.

Relying on the findings of the research above, Barton argues that educators should opt for social or local history that provides the most preferable resources for students. The lesson regarding 'content' should focus on changes in an environment the students are familiar with, on local history. Additionally, students are more familiar with changes in the material life (Barton, 2002: 177) while they seem to be in a position to locate these changes more easily in visual data sources (Barton and Levstik, 1996: 442).

Wineburg and Seixas also focused on history that is 'around' students, (non official history) and on means of instruction that are not necessarily the means used by historians. Wineburg stands somewhere between the British and the American tradition. He emphasizes the "nonintuitive" (Lee's term as cited by Mosborg, 2002a: 324), or "unnatural" character of the historical thinking (an idea repeated and exposed by the title of his book and his paper) which is a characteristic of the British

school. Despite the fact that Wineburg does not show "any intention of giving a categorization in logical progression" (Barca, 1996) as the British do, these two ways of approaching the past, the disciplinary and the non-disciplinary are explicit in his work. A widely known element of his work includes comparison between groups of professional historians and non professionals regarding the 'reading' of historical documents.

However, Wineburg seems to be equally interested in the 'mediational means' (collective or lived memory, fictional past, past in popular art) by which students form their pictures of the past. Wineburg exposes the role of popular art in the formation of people's concepts about the past, when he shows how both parents and pupils remember through films, even when the issue is one of "living memory"(at least for the parents) (Wineburg, 2001).

In his analysis of the parents' and students' interviews about Vietnam and the meaning of the 1960s, Wineburg displays the selective and reconstructive character of collective memory and the way that it preserves certain stereotypes that are not sustained by the discipline of history (Wineburg, 2001: 248). Wineburg's findings about Vietnam and living or collective memory seem to be in accordance with Barton's and Levstik's findings from the significance exercise they conducted among American adolescents, where they also used Vietnam as a topic (Barton and Levstik, 1998).

Following the above, Barton's, Levstik's and Wineburg's work on collective memory, Wineburg's notion of "occlusions" in memory (Wineburg, 2001: 242-243) and Levstik's notion of "silences" in history (Levstik, 2000: 284-305) richly inform this study that focuses on the selective and situated use of the past made by Greek students.

The work that informs this study more directly, from the 'question'[1] point of view, is the work of Seixas, and more specifically his "Murals as Monuments" paper (Seixas, 2002) as the latter paper also focuses on the past-present relation in the form of present controversies stemming from past events. The best way, Seixas asserts, for one to find people's relation to the past, is when the several "lieux de memoire"

[1] The 'question' is the research question of this study.

come into question: while in the work of Seixas the question was whether the murals in Canada representing old and unflattering identities should be preserved, in this study one of the tasks refers to the role of the Elgin marbles or the Greek antiquity in the formation of the modern Greek identity. In the "Murals as Monuments" paper students articulated several solutions to the problem with which they were presented, but it was apparent that their answers were restricted by the "tools" they were given (Seixas, 2002: 15).

Seixas like the other American researchers displays an interest in the non-official forms of culture and in the family and popular cultures 'affordances' and constraints: the "Dances with Wolves" film was not seen by the students as a 'construction' but as a piece of the historical past itself (Seixas, 1993b). Only when the students were shown a second film which constituted a different interpretation of the events, did they act in a more critical way. Their exposure to a contested truth produced a deeper understanding of the problem with which they had to deal; the alteration of the research setting appeared to shape their performance. In this specific case the popular culture of the cinema prevented the research participants from acting critically and functioned as a constraint in their understanding of the past: they identified with the "cultural curriculum"[1] of their own époque not examining other sources. The work of Seixas in this paper functions within the same context of Wineburg's and Barton's work about the "Forrest Gump" film and the collective memory of Vietnam: all these pieces of research question and explore the role of popular culture in the formation of historical consciousness.

In contrast to historical films, family narratives can function as an 'affordance' for the students: in his work with adolescents within a multicultural school setting (Seixas, 1993a) Seixas displayed how cases of family narratives, which were transferred to historical issues, helped certain students to make sense of the historical past. If historical narratives are supposed to establish identities (Rüsen, 1993: 5) then family narratives in multicultural schools could be used by the teachers as means of instruction: teachers ought to help students conceive of the "disparate areas of historical significance" (Seixas, 1993a: 322) that may exist in their own classroom, in a way that differences of political or historical experience are explained and do not

[1] "Cultural curriculum" as in Wineburg, (2001: 248).

create alienation. Personal experience seems to create a sense of relevance to history and the past; teaching ought to build on this relevance and help students create frameworks wider than their own communities' frameworks. Likewise, in another paper of his, "The Community of Inquiry as a Basis for Knowledge and Learning"[1], Seixas also insists on a teaching process where students would bring their own experience of the past in the classroom, and discuss about it and question it (Seixas, 1993c: 314-315).

The place of the traditional official narratives in history education is also questioned in the research of Seixas. In the "Standards of Historical Thinking"[2] the group of teachers working on new standards about history teaching in their district, ended up establishing standards around historical thinking. They consciously avoided the solution of the one best account to be taught because of the lack of homogeneity in the area (Seixas, 2001: 17). The lack of consensus about what 'a best historical account' would include seems to lead Seixas to a 'disciplinary approach'[3] (Seixas, 2000: 34). This lack of consensus, not only among official versions of history, but also in the realm of popular culture is commented on his article about the "Purposes of Teaching Canadian History" (Seixas, 2002: 7). On the whole, Seixas draws attention to the fact that students today encounter various and conflicting resources to make sense of the past; at the same time he is concerned about whether students are equipped in the proper way to use all these resources critically.

Mosborg's work, and especially the question about whether or not students use history when discussing current/political issues, also informed this study from the research question point of view: this study explores whether students refer to the past when they try to solve current/political problems. Mosborg concluded that her students 'used' the past when reasoning on current issues and they did so in a disciplinary way, they were not 'anachronistic' at all. She also identified narrative schemas in her students' reasoning, schemas that originated from distinct socio-

[1] Full title of the article: "The Community of Inquiry as a Basis for Knowledge and Learning: The Case of History" (Seixas, 1993c).

[2] "Standards of Historical Thinking: History Education Reform in Oakland, California"[2] (Seixas, 2001).

[3] At the same time Seixas does not ignore the limitations of the 'disciplinary approach' (Seixas, 2000: 34).

cultural groups to which the students of the two schools belonged. In a second analysis of her data (and when a third school was added to the ones participating), Mosborg exposed how stronger "background narratives" 'protected' students from anachronisms and other lapses (Mosborg, 2002b: 287). According to Mosborg background narratives offer students a perspective to differentiate and compare the past and the present.

Mosborg, along with Barton (although not in all of his work) believed that cultural tools are "affordances", that enrich students' understanding and help them make their way through historical concepts and processes. However, the researchers who share the socio-cultural perspective, Wertsch and others, see cultural tools as restricting students' hermeneutics. In this case cultural tools become constraints. The most common cultural tools employed, and also the ones most related to history, are the "official" accounts of the past, usually supplied by the state and supported by other 'texts' as well. These include commemorative items such us statues, pictures, films and processes that are often found in typical nation state settings.

Wertsch described people's reactions towards the official accounts as ranging from "belief" (emotional commitment, narratives used as identity resources), to "mastery" (cognitive commitment only) or "resistance" and "rejection" of them. Wertsch especially emphasizes the cases where people could reproduce the specific accounts quite coherently but did not believe them. All the above attitudes did not concern the "content" and the "form" of an official account at the same time: there were cases, for example, that "paradigmatic", "structural" explanations were selected in Russia (a tendency typical in the official accounts) but the content of the account was quite discrete from the official one (Wertsch 1998: 57).

Wertsch focused also on the relationship between official and non official accounts (Wertsch, 1998) and he showed how in the USA students used material from the official accounts even when they were really opposed to these official versions of history. From analysing the "form" and the "content" of the official accounts or of other narratives available to the members of a culture, Wertsch passed to the "narrative templates": the narrative templates are "patterns" or "schemas", often unwittingly used by people of a certain cultural community when they "perceive, imagine, remember, think and reason" (Bartlett in Wertsch 20 01b: 1). In relation to

history the "narrative templates" are "generalized narrative forms" by which people attribute meaning to the 'events'. In this way the process of dealing with new situations, or historical data becomes easier (Bartlett in Wertsch, 2001b: 2).

Implications for this research

This research is informed by the American group of researchers in the sense that this work and the work conducted in the USA and Canada share the same sociocultural perspective in relation to methodology.

More specifically Greek students' predilection for their cultural past mainly under the influence of the Greek national narrative seems to be in accordance with findings in the USA and Canada. However, there are differences: while the findings of the American group emphasize the role of the popular and everyday culture in students' construction of the past, this study comments more on the relationship between students and the Greek official narrative. From this point of view Wertsch's work is closer to this study than the work of Wineburg or Seixas that focus on the popular culture aspects located in the students' construction of the past. Nevertheless, a part of the Greek data was produced by the monuments' exercise[1]: archaeological remains in the middle of a modern city, and other monuments like churches or neoclassical houses which are still used by people, also form a part of people's everyday life. Furthermore, the Greek official narrative has also been commented as the *prevailing* historical narrative in the broader Greek society (Kokkinos, 2003: 114).

There is though a certain similarity between Wertsch's Russian findings and the Greek findings from the *content* point of view: the "Triumph-Over-Alien-Forces[2]" schematic narrative template which is identified by Wertsch in the narrations of the Russian history is also identified in the Greek narrations.

Moreover, Barton's comparative work in the USA and Northern Ireland where students' historical understanding is analysed as it has evolved out of two completely

[1] The monuments' exercise was a preservation task where students had to select the monuments that ought to be preserved in case there was a need to demolish the rest of them.

[2] Wertsch, 2001b: 2.

differing curricula, is similar to this work: this study tries to see Greek students' construction of the past in interaction to the educational 'environment' and the history and the culture of the country.

Wineburg's exposure of the selectivity of the American collective memory supports the research strategy of this study which seeks to explore the circumstances under which Greek students selectively 'endorse' or 'reject' the past. Finally Wineburg's and Seixas' work on students' 'presentism'[1] is very much related to Lee's and Shemilt's findings[2] about students' use of an 'extended present' as a type of past. Greek students also exhibited an inclination for the recent past that could be seen as an extended present.

1.4. CONSIDERATIONS REGARDING HISTORY TEACHING AND HISTORICAL CULTURE IN GREECE – THE 'ENVIRONMENT' OF THIS RESEARCH.

1.4.1. 'Official' culture in Greece

People's constructs do not constitute an internal affair. Students build on their experience and on others generations' experience: traditions, history and achievements of prior generations intervene in people's behaviour, communities' tools shape people's mental processes (Cole and Wertsch, 2002).

Surveys in Greece have repeatedly attested an official narrative's endorsement by the Greek society. The official narratives are important because they perform one of the main functions of the discipline of history: that is to explain the present and create a sense of collective identity. Official narratives are also important because they create frameworks of understanding which are difficult to escape. Focus on the latter is a very important feature of this study. This is primarily due to the fact that in Greece the desire of the state is to impose an official narrative through a history curriculum that focuses on certain content is apparent.

[1] Wineburg, 1991 and Seixas, 1993b.

[2] Ashby and Lee 1987: 74 and Shemilt,1980: 24.

This study is concerned with secondary school students' ideas about history and the past and in consequence surveys that focus on teachers' ideas are uppermost in this discussion. Teachers constitute a particularly interesting case: not only do they belong to the broader Greek society but they are also considered as the official mediators of the Greek official narrative about the past. They therefore seem to function as a part of Greek students' sociocultural and educational context. While Dragona[1] and Frangoudaki focused their analysis on primary school teachers living in Athens in 1993, Kokkinos et al focused their own study on the teachers' and students' population of two provincial towns in Greece, Ioannina and Rhodes[2]. Kokkinos et al commented in a comparative way first on the teachers' ethnocentrism and second on the understanding the primary school teachers had of the discipline of history; additionally the results were contextualized socio-economically and culturally: differences in performance were located first between the two towns teachers' populations (Κόκκινος κ.ά., 2005: 238). Second, there were differences between groups of teachers who had acquired different training[3]. Analysis provided insights into the various ways in which cultural tools like the national narrative are "appropriated"[4] by the members of a community: Kokkinos et al located in teachers' thought a prevailing ethnocentrism and the idea of a 'fixed' past; though the latter

[1] Dragona, Th. and Frangoudaki A. (1997): *'What' is Our Country? Ethnocentrism in Education* [«*Τι Είν' η Πατρίδα μας*; » *Εθνοκεντρισμός στην Εκπαίδευση*], Athens: Alexandria (my translation of the title).

[2] The Rhodes sample comprised the town of Rhodes and the villages and the comparative survey was conducted in 2003. The students were 12-years-old and they were studying at the sixth grade of the Greek primary school, while the teachers represented different ages and educational backgrounds. The researchers used as analytic tools Rüsen's typology of historical consciousness, Topolski's typology of historical narratives, Egan's typology of historical thought and the empirical work conducted by the British school in relation to the notion of 'empathy' and the students' understanding of the historical accounts, Kokkinos et al (2005): Historical Culture and (Historical) Consciousness, Athens, Noogramma (my translation of the title).

[3] A presentation of the professional training of primary and secondary school teachers in Greece is also made by Kokkinos in his article, "University Studies and Professional Training of the Teachers", in Kokkinos and I. Nakou (eds) *Approaching History Education in the Beginning of the 21st Century*, Athens: Metaichmio, a Greek edition.

[4] "Appropriation" of Cultural Tools is used here as by Wertsch (2002).

characteristics of the teachers' historical thought varied among different groups of them.

Additionally, differences not only exist in the ways in which a cultural tool is appropriated, but also in the ways in which culture is produced by a certain society. The surveys mentioned above conclude that there is a recognisable narrative in Greek teachers' and students' stances towards the past and history. Nevertheless, the latter narrative is 'distributed' in the Greek society and it is not exclusively 'produced' by the state: there are 'mechanisms' outside the state school, different from the academic history, mechanisms that also diffuse knowledge about the past: the mass media, the museums, the internet (Γαζή, 2002: 52)[1].There are also the students' families which might reproduce or annul the official narrative. The same applies to the textbooks: Koulouri sees the textbooks more as a "mirror of the society that produces them [and less] as an effective means of propaganda and conscience manipulation" and she notes that "[textbooks] rarely contain stereotypes and values unacceptable to society" (Koulouri, 2002: 31).

1.4.2. Curricula and history textbooks in Greece

The initial aim of this study was to give a brief account of textbooks in Greece; though, in order to assess books' impact more fully it is better to focus also on "the complex relationship between textbook production, mandated curricula and the stated educational aims of national governments" (Nicholls and Foster, 2005: 173): Greece is considered to have a centralized educational system. Centralization is

[1] Gazi, E. (2002): History in Public Space, in G. Kokkinos and E. Alexaki (eds) *Interdisciplinary Approaches in Museum Education*, Athens: Metaichmio, my translation of the title. Nakou also referred to the "enlarged" by the electronic technology students' environment: this environment also informs students' "presentations" of history and brings students in communication with a broader world (Nakou, 2005: 2). Additionally Nakou commented on the "fast rythms" and the "intangible character" of the contemporary visual reality that do not encourage critical thinking on the part of the students (Nakou, 2005: 3). Gatsotis also displayed the possible implications of the contemporary "mass culture" for students' way of thinking in history since students learn about the past also from the media or the cinema (Γατσωτής, 2006: 573-583). Gatsotis' paper situates Greek students' historical thought in their sociocultural context (Gatsotis, P., 2006: Pupils' Discourse in History, in G. Kokkinos and I. Nakou, (eds) *Approaching History Education in the Beginning of the 21st Century*, Athens: Metaichmio, a Greek edition.

apparent both in the type of the curricula and in the selection and distribution of the history textbooks.

The national curriculum in Greece is issued by the Institute of Pedagogy (Institute of Education/Παιδαγωγικό Ινστιτούτο) which bears a "political character and this is the reason why its leadership usually changes after every governmental change" (Αβδελά,[1] 1998: 17, my translation from Greek and Φράγκος[2], 2002: 61). The curricula in Greece prescribe in detail the historical content that will be taught while they also refer to the content and the type of the textbooks that will be distributed by the state in the schools (Κουλούρη, 2002: 96)[3]. Additionally, the national curriculum has to be approved by the Ministry of Education and the latter also issues 'directions' about specific topics, directions that are occasionally sent to schools throughout the whole school year[4].

Despite the state's advantageous position in the 'battle' of history, the latter battle also includes other people from the broader society. The 'battle' of history and history education in Greece does not refer to epistemological issues but to the lack of consensus in relation to the content and the interpretation of the national narrative (Κόκκινος, 2003: 129). According to Kokkinos, collective memory traumata or Greece's changing relations with Europe and the Balkan countries, relations that sometimes create insecurity, are only two of the reasons that led to the formation of "divisive social fronts[5] ... [and] 'protesting citizens' movements ... in the last decade [in Greece]" (Κόκκινος[6], 2003: 129-131, my translation from Greek). History in Greece, probably as in many other countries, is also a part of the public 'sphere' and

[1] Avdela, E. (1998): *History and the School*, Athens: Nisos, my translation of the title.

[2] Frangos, C. (2002): The Curricula and the "New" Programmes of Studies, *Synchroni Ekpaidefsi*, 125: 60-68, my translation of the title.

[3] The Battle about the History Textbooks, *Synchroni Ekpaidefsi*, 125: 93-98, my translation of the title.

[4] 'directions' in Greek: "εγγύκλιοι".

[5] These 'fronts' sometimes bear nationalistic qualities and tend to "victimize the ethnos" (Κόκκινος, 2003: 128) while they seem to be a consequence of the Balkan wars of the 1990s. There are other times that certain groups seek to be included in the canon of Greek history; Kokkinos here refers to the 'resistance' (2nd World War) groups.

[6] Kokkinos, G. (2003): *Discipline, Ideology, Identity*, Athens: Metaichmio, my translation of the title.

involves groups different from the state organizations or the professional historians: certain cultural associations, the political parties or the church, seek to express themselves through history so that the content of the national narrative is always contested (Κόκκινος, 2003: 129). The latter 'atmosphere' is another context which potentially influences students.

The emphasis on the 'content' of history in Greece is also identified in the several state interventions in relation to the content of history textbooks as in the case of the third class of the Senior High School history textbook in the summer of 2002[1]. The book withdrawal was provoked by a specific interpretation and presentation of events adopted by the book's authors: the latter interpretation seems not to have been compatible with a certain version of the national narrative.

The latter episode is also indicative of the fact that in Greece, in contrast to the situation in Britain[2], there does not seem to be 'space' for negotiation among the 'interested' parts in relation to education, at least in the case of the official history content; the protest expressed by historians, educators and the public in that summer did not annul the book's withdrawal.

Nevertheless, and despite the fact that the debate in Greece is usually about the content of the narrative to be taught to students, in the latest version of the national curriculum for history it is explicitly stated that the focus of the lesson should be on the learning *process*[3] and not on the *content*. Students should be encouraged to *participate* in the classroom while the lesson would be an *inquiring*[4] process.

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[1] One can read the chronicle of the book's withdrawal in the article written by the editorial board of the journal *TA HISTORICA*, 2002, 19 (36): 234-235, The Minister and History, Ο Υπουργός και η Ιστορία).

[2] Kokkinos (Κόκκινος, 2003: 129), Vendoura and Koulouri (Βεντούρα και Κουλούρη, 1994: 139) and Syriatou (Συριάτου, 199: 159) commenting on history education in England emphasized the fact that historians, teachers and several other pressure groups prevented the governments of the 1980s from "[simply] imposing [the government's] views" (Syriatou, 1999: 159, my translation from Greek).

[3] National Curriculum, "Methodology" (teaching methods, p. 15, accessed 04/12/05) In Greek: «διαδικασία μάθησης».

[4] National Curriculum, "Methodology" (the principles of the teaching processes, p.14) In Greek: « έμφαση στη διαδικασία διερεύνησης των ιστορικών γεγονότων»).

However, in the very same version of the national curriculum, reference is made to history contributing "to [students'] *responsible* present and future *behaviour*"[1], to history "preparing conscientious *citizens*[2]", to "[students' need to learn] the history of *Hellenism*[3] with reference to the broader global history[4]" to "[students' need to realize] the *offer of the Greek nation* to the global civilization[5]" (my emphasis).

On the whole, there have always been two parallel lines of development within Greek curricula from 1974[6] onwards: a 'methodological' or disciplinary line and another line that refers to the political role of the history lesson in school. As Avdela notices the political line has not changed since 1974 as ethnocentrism remains its basic character. The only difference from 1974 till now has been the broadening of the curriculum content: today the curriculum 'text' also refers to methodological issues (Αβδελά, 1998: 25). On the other hand, one cannot help noticing that the 'political' line becomes 'harder' in times of 'national insecurity' as in 1996 (Κάββουρα[7], 2002: 425).

There have been 'sources' in the Greek textbooks for years but as Avdela notices their aim was restricted to "validating[8]" the "lesson" (Αβδελά, 1998: 35). The dominant part in Greek history textbooks has always been a fully developed narrative while the sources accompanied and completed the main story; the pedagogical use of the sources so as the students would familiarize with the discipline processes depended on the teacher. Students were not 'examined/assessed' in the sources, they were usually asked to recall the main 'story' of the book. Though, in the 1996-1997

[1] Excerpt from the "general aims" of the National Curriculum about history teaching, p. 7. The same "general aims" are repeated in the Lyceum curriculum. Kavvoura commented on the conservative character of the latter excerpt that encourages the uncritical repetition and use of the past for the present and future needs (Κάββουρα, 2002: 428).

[2] Excerpt from the "general aims" of the National Curriculum (NC), p. 7.

[3] Dragona and Frangoudaki commented on how the name "Hellenism" is used in an ahistorical way in the Greek textbooks to indicate "the image of an uninterrupted continuity" (2001: 40).

[4] Excerpt from the "specific aims" of the N C, p. 10.

[5] »

[6] 1974 was the end of the 1967-1974 dictatorship in Greece.

[7] Kavvoura, D. (2002): Do the New Curricula serve Knowledge? The Example of History, in S. Bouzakis (ed) *Current Issues in History of Education*, Athens: Gutenberg, my translation of the title.

[8] In Greek: "να τεκμηριώσουν", Avdela uses as a source the 1992-1993 curriculum.

curriculum one locates differentiation in the wording: it is made explicit that sources "*do not* validate the whole of the historical narrative but only clarify[1] and shed light at some parts of it" (NC, 1996-1997: 31).

Since 1997[2] the students of the Lyceum[3] have been assessed for the university exams by the use of sources. There is limited space in this study to refer to a system that does not directly concern this research sample; nevertheless, what is attested by educators is that the history exams seem to have become more difficult equally for students and teachers: there have been great differences between the assessments of the same[4] students' papers in the exams for the university (Σμπιλίρης[5], 2004: 234). In relation to the students of this research (which took place in 2004) it should be mentioned that they have been assessed by the use of sources since 2001[6]. It should also be pointed out that despite the change of the types of the (exam) questions in the Junior High School in 2001, the history books have been the same for the last ten years.

1.4.3. The textbooks ethnocentrism

It has been noticed many times by history educators, who specialize in the history didactics and the history of Greek education, that Greek history textbooks no longer include "negative or hostile attitudes towards neighbouring peoples"[7] (Koulouri, 2001: 17). The lack of overt hostility against other nations in the Greek text books is

[1] "Clarify" from the Greek «διευκρινίζονται» and "shed light" from the Greek «φωτίζονται».

[2] An educational reformation was initiated in 1997 which, among other changes, also modified the exams required to enter university: one of the measures that were taken was the change of the type of the questions that would be asked of the students; the use of sources in the university exams was adopted within this context.

[3] Students of the Lyceum are between sixteen and eighteen years old.

[4] Papers of the university exams are assessed twice by different people. If there are great differences between these two assessors, a third assessment takes place.

[5] Sbiliris, G. (2004): The Assessment of History, in K. Agelakos and G. Kokkinos (eds) *'Interdisciplinary Approaches of Knowledge in the Greek School'*, Athens: Metaichmio, my translation of the title.

[6] Students have been assessed 'by sources' in the 'internal' exams of their schools in order to graduate from the first and the second class of the Junior High School.

[7] Koulouri here refers not only to the Greek textbooks, but to the history textbooks of the Balkan countries.

also mentioned by Dragona and Frangoudaki (2001: 39). Still they all agree (Koulouri, Dragona and Frangoudaki, Soysal and Antoniou, Petridis and Zografaki) that history textbooks are ethnocentric because they systematically ignore the "other". Greek students learn very little about the Turkish or the Ottoman civilization while they read about the Turks only in cases where the latter were involved in conflicts with Greece. The same also applies to other peoples with whom Greece had had territorial differences in the past.

Balkan history school books, and in consequence Greek books, dedicate less than 50% of their content to non-national history (Koulouri, 2002: 17). On the other hand, if one conducts content analysis of specific Greek history books, one may locate cases where national history is relatively 'limited'; this is disorientating because Greek students do not usually read whole books but certain pages prescribed each year by the Institute of Pedagogy and the Ministry of Education (Petridis and Zografaki, 2002: 491).

Nevertheless, the main way in which ethnocentrism is developed in history textbooks is through the narrative included in them: it is the narrative of the "cultural community of Greece travelling through time" (Soysal and Antoniou, 2002: 55). The latter community after having successfully assimilated both pagan and Christian elements resists any other cultural influence and particularly the Ottoman-Turkish (Soysal and Antoniou, 2002: 64).

Furthermore the same continuity of *Hellenism* is also exposed by the structure of the curriculum: the latter divides history into ancient, Byzantine and modern historical eras three times throughout the Greek student's twelve years of schooling. The latter periods represent the three phases of the Greek homogenous national development while the continuity of Hellenism throughout these periods is taken for granted (Κόκκινος, 1994: 155-156[1]). The distribution of Greek and European/World history in the students' books and the structure of the curriculum, as described above, are also shown in Tables 1.1 and 1.2.

[1] Kokkinos, G. (1994): The perception of the Nation and the National Consciousness in the current Analytical Programs of the Primary and Secondary Education, *History and National Consciousness, seminar 17*, Athens, (ΠΕΦ) a Greek edition.

Table 1.1. The history lesson in the Gymnasium.

Junior High School (GYMNASIUM)			
GRADES	AGES	HOURS of HISTORY per week	THEMES
A grade	13 years old	**2**	History of the Ancient Years till 30 BC
B grade	14 years old	**2**	Roman & Byzantine History from 146 BC till 1453 AC
C grade	**15 years old the sample of this research**	**3**	**Modern and Contemporary History, from the *Era of Discoveries* till the 1980s**

Table 1.2. The history lesson in the Lyceum.

Senior High School (LYCEUM)			
GRADES	AGES	HOURS of HISTORY per week	THEMES
A grade	16 years old	**2**	**obligatory:** History of the Ancient World, from the Prehistoric Eastern Civilizations till Justinianus
		2	optional: The European Civilization and its Roots
B grade	17 years old	**2**	**obligatory history:** history from 565 AC till 1815 AC
		2	optional: Historical Themes (Greek history)
C grade	18 years old	**2**	**obligatory history:** history from 1789-now (it includes 10 chapters of European and World History and 9 chapters of Greek history)*
		2	history for students that opted for "**theoretical orientation**"**: Themes of Modern Greek History

Notes: * The analogy between Greek and World history that appears on the table may be deceptive, because what is in the book is not what is prescribed to be taught in the specific school year (Petridis and Zografaki, 2002: 491)

** "Theoretical orientation" students are the ones that prepare for the theoretical schools of the universities (philosophical, theological and law schools)

1.5. CONCLUSION

This is a study about the historical consciousness of 15-year-old students in Greece. The main research question is whether or not students refer to the past when they have to solve current problems and under what circumstances. This study also seeks to describe students' uses of the past. Consequently Rüsen's delineation of historical consciousness and his typology of historical identities inform this study.

The literature reviewed in this chapter (in the theoretical section) emphasizes the selectivity that characterizes historical consciousness and its main constituent, memory. Another aspect of memory emphasized in this study is memory's reconstructive character: it seems that memories, either historical or collective, are never 'fixed', and that they reconstruct the past according to everyday concerns and priorities; historical memory is also affected by the historian's present context while historical narratives tend to be provisional.

The empirical section of this chapter also demonstrates the "situated" character of learning and understanding history. "Global" stage theories about students' cognitive development, like Piaget's, initially informed the British research in students' understanding of history but these theories were latter contested. The empirical research, conducted within the Schools Council Project, History 13-16 and in the Institute of Education, concluded in progression models about students' understanding of history. Students' performance did not appear to be exclusively dependent on age. On the contrary students' performance was likely to be dependent on the content of the tasks, on the research setting and on the teaching context of the students. The empirical research in USA also emphasized the socio-culturally mediated character of students' performance in history. The US research especially focuses on the "cultural tools" students use to make sense of the past and suggests that these cultural means to understand history can function as affordances or as constraints. They can restrict students' understanding of the discipline or facilitate it.

Because this study refers to Greek students' understanding of history, discussion in this chapter has also referred to the historical and sociocultural context of history teaching and understanding in Greece: a centralized educational system and the use of specific history text books are expected to inform students' understanding of the

discipline. On the other hand, each period's political circumstances affect equally the educational policies, the curricula and the textbooks' content; political circumstances and the history 'produced' by the society in which students belong, are also expected to affect students' thinking.

Furthermore, there was at least one event that formed the context of this research: the Olympic Games that took place in Athens in the summer of 2004 (the research took place in the spring of 2004). There was also talk about the return of Elgin' marbles to Greece and about whether Greece would be 'ready' to host the Olympic Games and the marbles in case the latter returned.

To conclude, this study seeks to situate socioculturally students' stances towards the past and at the same time to 'historize' them: in the same way that memories are reconstructed according to a demanding present and in the same way as historiography's tools are also "historized"[1], students' historical consciousness also ought to be historized. This study will give a thick description of students' constructs towards the past: the latter constructs and their interpretation refer to the context in which both the research and the analysis took place.

[1] Seixas, 2000: 34.

Chapter 2: Methodology — Pilots

2.1. THEORY – METHODOLOGY

2.1.1. Introduction

This chapter will discuss the main methodological considerations within educational research (the quantitative and qualitative research tradition) and also the main research practices within the research tradition of students' historical consciousness. Additionally an account will be given of the pilot studies that contributed to the formation of the final research instruments of the main data collection.

2.1.2. Theoretical framework

The research questions about whether and under what circumstances students refer to the past and what type of past students make use of, constitute aspects of historical consciousness. Rüsen, who has formed a typology of historical consciousness, stressed the importance of grounding this typology in empirical data (Rüsen, 1993: 79- 80). The present study aims at finding the right instruments to elicit students' stances towards the past, thus a relevant research strategy was adopted.

2.1.3. Educational research methodology

There have been two traditions in social science research: the quantitative tradition and the qualitative tradition. Quantitative and qualitative research traditions draw upon different epistemologies and ontologies: the positivistic and the hermeneutic/interpretive (Usher in Scott and Usher, 1996: 11). This research follows the qualitative tradition and as a result it also follows two tenets: first, research is considered as a social process and it also becomes contextualized historically (Kuhn in Usher, 1996: 16); the latter implies that the 'scientific paradigm' changes in the way society changes. Ideas about what is objective change too, as do the criteria regarding what counts as scientific.

Second, while within the positivist context, the researcher focuses on aspects of human behaviour that can be 'measured', the interpretive epistemology focuses on the 'meaning' of human actions, (Scott and Usher, 1999: 91), and especially on the meaning that the 'researched' give to their actions and to life itself. How people make sense of their world is one of the priorities of a researcher who functions within

the interpretive epistemological paradigm. Unlike the positivist model, the interpretative model also gives emphasis to the "textual" dimension of reality, (Lemert in Scott, and Usher, 1999: 21). With the term "textual" we wish to refer to the notion of the world as a text; a world that is constructed and mediated though cultural means such as language. In this sense, the world cannot exist independently of our interpretation; of our way of seeing the world. In this way, the social scientists' object becomes people's interpretation of their world.

2.1.4. Implications for this research

Taking into consideration the assumptions of the positivist and interpretive epistemologies, and the questions of this research, an ethnographic approach would be a justified methodological choice. The term 'ethnography' is used in its broad sense as a process synonymous with qualitative research[1] (Chambers in Denzin and Lincon, 2000: 852). As Green and Bloom also make explicit, there is a difference between "doing ethnography", adopting an "ethnographic perspective" and using "ethnographic tools", (Green and Bloome, 1997: 183). The main research technique of this study is the "ethnographic/qualitative" interview, thus this study seems to belong to the third research 'group' as defined by Green and Bloome. On the other hand, this research could also be considered as having an ethnographic "perspective" since students' data will be situated in the students' educational and cultural context (Green and Bloome, 1997: 183).

Not only will the student's cultural context form part of the analysis in a study like the present one, but also the researcher's own cultural context and theoretical assumptions and readings: children own a different code or make use of our common language in ways that would seem ambiguous to an adult. This is the reason why the initial research categories will be adult ones, and the students' meanings will be mapped in an adult way. Interpretation will be attempted, but it must be appreciated that interpretation functions within the researcher's context. The *adult* dimension is inevitable. The process followed in this research requires a transcription of students'

[1] Chambers actually adopts herself a narrow definition of "ethnography" but she makes a very clear distinction between a "narrow" definition of ethnography and a "broad" definition, the latter synonymous to qualitative research.

sayings and an interpretation of their answers to detect the students' meanings. The findings of this research constitute an understanding of their understandings and the whole enterprise has a constructivist character: the researcher constructs a framework of pupils' constructs, (Scott and Usher, 1999: 19).

One of the qualitative, ethnographic, approaches is the grounded theory. Grounded theorists conduct qualitative research for two reasons: for the type of the data, usually non-numerical, which they collect, (Strauss and Corbin, J., 1998: 11), and for their questions: they seek to describe the "meaning" individuals give to their actions or understand certain individual experiences. Nevertheless, grounded theorists are not conducting ethnographic research in the strict sense of the word. They seek to explain, while ethnography seeks to describe (Strauss and Corbin, 1998: 8).

Above all, as Glaser and Strauss (1967) displayed in their book, grounded theorists are interested in eliciting, generating 'theory' from the data. The latter aim of grounded theory is also shared by this research: this research also seeks to produce a model of students' thinking about the past. If the latter model finally displays the circumstances under which students endorse the past, it will also be a "developmental" model as Glaser and Strauss define the grounded theory models (Glaser and Strauss, 1967: 114).

2.1.5. Historical consciousness: research in students' ideas about history and the past.

Research in students' understanding of history has so far focussed either in the 'mapping' of students' ideas about the discipline of history and the past, or in the sociocultural 'provenance' of those ideas. While in Britain researchers have tried to 'infer' the implicit epistemology of students' ideas about the past, in the USA researchers focused on the means by which students construct their past.

This research relates more to the empirical studies conducted in the USA where a sociocultural perspective in relation to students' thought is adopted. Thus, this research was conducted under the assumption that thinking historically, like thinking in general, is a psychological function culturally and historically mediated and context specific. A relevant research strategy was adopted to explore the ways in

which students' thought is mediated by different contexts or task contents while other tasks explore students' use of certain cultural tools.

2.2. METHODS – RESEARCH TECHNIQUES

2.2.1. Thinking aloud

Drawing upon research relevant to historical consciousness research, (Wineburg, 2001 and Mosborg, 2002ab) the present research design could have included, as an alternative to the semi-structured interview method, the method of *thinking aloud.* As Wineburg (2001: 64) notes, thinking aloud is very useful technique: people verbalize the 'contents' of their thoughts while they are engaged in the 'process' of thinking, so that the researchers can infer and describe these processes.

For the purposes of this research, the method would be effective because it elicits students' meanings as they construct them. Nevertheless, in thinking aloud processes there are the same constraints as in the interview and all the other analyses of "verbal protocols": the researcher having his own worldview attempts to 'reconstruct' the research participant's worldview and decode the participant's own use of language (Pressley and Afflerbach, 1995: 2).

Another disadvantage of the thinking aloud technique, is that students might feel uncomfortable and not talk: students might need to 'warm up', (Ericsson and Simon, 1985: 82) or be taught how to act and that would take time. Other students might prefer answering questions given by the researcher to having a very large degree of independence. Verbalization processes might confuse them (Ericsson and Simon, 1985: 88).

2.2.2. The interview

This research is exploratory and it would benefit from the qualitative interview (Lincoln and Guba, 1985: 269); a qualitative interview with open-ended questions would produce rich data. Qualitative interviews are adopted when the researcher attempts to understand "what people are thinking" or people's "thought processes" (Stauss and Corbin, 1998: 11). The use of a qualitative interview as a research method presupposes the adoption of an interpretative epistemology which searches

the *meaning* of human actions (Usher in Scott and Usher, 1996: 18). In the latter case the researcher carries out a "process of interpretation" (Stauss and Corbin, 1998: 11). The characteristics of the qualitative interview and different interview types are discussed in the following paragraph.

- Characteristics of the interview (bias, reliability and validity of the interview)

The use of the interview as a research method is required because exploratory questions were being posed and people's attitudes towards certain current issues and the past are going to be explored. The interview allows face-to-face communication and the direct interaction between the interviewer and the interviewee allows ad hoc modifications of the process and lots of prompts and probes. This also constitutes the main disadvantage, bringing to the fore more of the researcher's voice than the participant's.

A way in which the interviewer's 'bias' is expressed is the use of "leading questions" (Cohen and Manion, 2000: 112). As a corrective to the pilot tasks where the students faced the past-present dilemma in a straightforward way an indirect task was purposely chosen for the main data collection, which was less guiding.

This research does not aim to generalize; thus a discussion about external validity, 'generalizability', has no place here. A 'thick' description of the sample and the circumstances under which the research will tale place will allow the reader to assess the data.

Internal validity in this research is related to the formation of the categories from the students' speech: a persuasive explanation is needed as to why certain student responses are indicative of specific categories, (see Cohen and Manion, 2000: 110 on "construct validity"). Internal validity in qualitative research is usually tackled by "triangulation": researchers seek to acquire the same type of answer in different ways, using different tasks (see Lee, Ashby, and Dickinson, 1995: 55-56 and Barca, 1996: 203).

Reliability is another problem that has to be controlled. Reliability stems from the lack of standardization that exists in interviews, and especially in semi-structured interviews. None the less semi-structured interviews have a minimum of structure;

the latter makes comparisons between the participants possibly due to the fact that they all answer a minimum number of common questions. As for the question of whether other researchers would receive similar answers, the answer is possibly "no" because one cannot exclude the possibility of a participant's answer evolving out of special circumstances (Cohen and Manion, 2000: 119).

It is necessary to recognise the tension that exists between qualitative and quantitative research: the standardization of the process that comes out of fixed-alternative questions, or of the identical wording and the sequence of the questions, offers the advantage of increased objectivity and reliability. One must, though, be aware of the fact that much salient data might be lost which is indispensable to an exploratory research project (Cohen and Manion, 2000: 124).

- Type and conditions of the interview

Previous research has suggested that students in groups of three function and interact positively together, thus assisting both the students engaged in the tasks and the interviewer. Students speak more easily in groups of three and the use of brainstorming helps to keep the conversation flowing (Dickinson and Lee 1984, Ashby and Lee, 1987, Barca, 1996). As Lee and Ashby put it "a group of three tends to produce shifting patterns of arguments and tension in a way that groups of two or four do not" (Asby and Lee, 1987: 66). In addition, it remains easy for the interviewer to distinguish the individual students. The use of group interviews is also advocated by the pilot analysis in this research.

- Possible observation techniques-videotaped interview

The videotaped interview, that was used by Dickinson and Lee (1984) and Ashby and Lee (1987), avoids interaction between the researcher and the subjects. The researcher either leaves the room (Ashby and Lee, 1987: 64) or remains but does not participate in the conversation. Barca uses the method as well, noting (Barca, 1996) that the danger of the "subjects diverging in their discussion from what is under focus" remains. One would also expect richer data to be generated out of a process that stimulates interaction amongst the students (Dickinson and Lee, 1984: 118-119).

Despite the advantages of the videotaped interview there are disadvantages that do not permit its adoption for this research study. The first disadvantage, already noticed by Barca, is the possibility of the students being distracted. The researcher allocates time for a procedure he or she has no control over. The data might prove to be very poor, despite the expectations. The second disadvantage, noted by Lee, (Ashby and Lee, 1987: 118), is the possibility of students remaining reticent because they feel uncomfortable. If the school environment is not one the researcher is familiar with, it will be difficult for her to control the situation. Conversely, if there is no research tradition of the kind in one country the permission for conducting the research raises difficulties and possible ethical issues.

2.3. THE PILOT STUDIES

2.3.1. Introduction

Pilots in this study were conducted in two phases, in April and September 2003. Piloting was essential as it contributed to the decisions that had to be made in relation to the main data collection that was programmed for the year 2004. The analysis of the April 2003 pilots suggested that the way in which the questions were asked and the content of the tasks might have affected students' performance. Thus the pilots were repeated in September 2003 with different tasks. The analysis of the September pilots supported the findings of the April pilot in relation to certain factors that seemed to have intervened in students' performance so far. The pilots in this study were important because they contributed to the formation of a certain research strategy in relation to the tasks that were finally adopted.

Table 2.1. Population and sampling.

2003					
SCHOOLS	**AGE GRADE**	**SAMPLE SIZE**	**BOYS**	**GIRLS**	**OCCASIONS FOR SAMPLING**
N. SMYRNI 14 and 15 of April experimental	15 y 3rd year Junior H	12	08	04	volunteered
N. SMYRNI 18 of September experimental	15 y and a half 1st year Lyceum	06	04	02	volunteered
PSYCHIKO 22 of September private	15 y and a half 1st year Lyceum	03	none	03	selected by their teacher on the basis of their participation in class discussions

2.3.2. Population and sampling

- Socio-economic composition of the sample/sample size

The above table describes the timing and the conditions under which the two early pilots were conducted. Both of the pilots were conducted during the 2002-2003 school year. The pilots were carried out in Athens, Greece and both schools were located in the centre of the city. The tasks were repeatedly changed; the students were more or less the same since both the schools were in urban areas with similar demographic characteristics. In April, twelve pupils were interviewed in groups of three. In September, nine students were interviewed, six of them in N. Smyrni.

- Age and ability

The students were either fifteen-years-old studying in the third year of the Junior High School, (April, N. Smyrni school), or fifteen-and-a-half years old studying in the first year of the Lyceum (Nea Smyrni and Psychiko senior high schools in September). It must be noted that students in Greece are divided into classes according to their age and not according to their academic performance.

- Occasions for sampling

The students in Nea Smyrni volunteered. In Psychiko the students were selected by their teacher; the latter measure aimed at making the research interference in the school routine as little as possible. All the students in Psychiko were girls and the two of them were described as good pupils. The pupils were selected by their teacher because they frequently participated in classroom conversations. In Nea Smyrni, the pupils can be described as 'representative' regarding ability, because school entry is not decided by entrance examinations. The pilot was based on a "convenience" sample.

2.3.3. Interviews protocols and tasks rationale

In the next section a brief account will be given of the conditions of the interviews and of the rationale that led to specific choices about the tasks. A short comment will also be made on students' answers in pilot (1), because these answers led to specific decisions regarding pilot (2). Thus this discussion about students' answers is considered as a part of the discussion about the tasks.

(1st PILOT)

A) N. Smyrni, 14th and 15th April 2003

Figure 2.1. Protocol of pilot 1, 1st task, 'the archaeological site' task.

You are living in a small town where a new sports centre is going to be built; works begin and an archaeological site is discovered. As you have children and your neighbourhood lacks open space, you are called to vote. How would you vote: for or against the preservation of the archaeological site?

Interview questions that followed were:

a. Why?
b. What do monuments offer to our everyday experience?
c. What if the site discovered was not an ancient site but a more recent building?

Figure 2.2. Protocol of pilot 1, 2nd task, the 'war' task.

Your country is involved in a war aiding the traditionally and historically 'ally' country, a war that is unjustified and unfair. How do you think you would react if you were either of recruitment age or below recruitment age? **Interview questions** that followed were: a. Why? b. What do you think about war in general? Is war a way to handle problems among states? c. Are there cases where violence is justified? d. Can the past help us when thinking of the above?

2.3.3.1. (1st) Pilot

- Type and conditions of the interviews

The semi-structured interviews were conducted in groups of three and they lasted between one and one-and-a-half hours.

- Rationale for the tasks

The specific 'content' option

1) The *archaeological site* task

The *archaeological site* task had easily recognizable options and asked the students directly for their stance towards past and present. What mattered was the students' reasoning when accounting for their options.

2) The *war* task

The *war task* was a current event that was expected to interest the students and was constructed as an indirect way of asking about the past. The war task was more exploratory and investigated whether the students refer to the past, rather than the students' use of the past.

Distribution of the tasks among the four groups

Two of the groups were given one of the tasks, the war task, whilst the other two were given both the archaeological site and the war task. The table and the comments below refer to the students presented with both the archaeological site and the war task:

- when these students faced the *archaeological site* task the majority opted for the past
- when the same students faced the *war problem* two our out of the six students were 'atemporal'. Students were first given the archaeological site task and then the war task.

Table 2.2. Combined use of the tasks in two of the four groups/students' answers.

tasks	**explicit**	(compromising solutions) **explicit**	**implicit**	**atemporal**
archaeological site	**4**	**2**		
war	**1**		**3**	**2**

(about 'compromising solutions' see discussion of cat.8 on p. 89)

Of the students who received only the war task the majority did not refer to the past. Only one student referred to the past explicitly, though 'not naming' it[1]

[1] 'Reference to the past but not naming it' group of answers includes these answers where a reference to 'concrete' history is made by the students, but the words "past" or "history" are not mentioned. Students are aware of using past events, though they do not produce an explanation about why history would be useful.

Combined use of the tasks and consistency of answers

The decision to combine different tasks in two of the four groups had an exploratory function: to investigate possible lack of consistency in the students' answers when the questioning changed. As it was demonstrated students' attitudes changed when the tasks changed.

Rationale for the questions that followed the tasks

The questions that followed were broad, with the aim that broad questioning of the students would expose ideas about the past in general. The whole idea was that discussion would take place rather than interrogation of the students using fixed questions (apart from the main questions). The latter decision was meant to support the exploratory character of the present research. The student answers used for the categories were very carefully selected so as to filter out interaction. The categories were generated from the main questions ("what do you choose and why"), whilst the discussions were broader.

Prompts

Some of the questions, such as question (c) of the first task, were prompts designed in case students answered in a certain way. Question (c) addressed especially those students who showed the most enthusiasm about the past. Questions (b) and (c) from the second task, were meant to elicit a 'temporal' or 'past justified' rationale. Question (d) from the second task was employed where 'atemporal' answers were given.

(2nd PILOT)

B) N.Smyrni, 18nd September 2003, six students

Psychiko, 22nd September 2003, three students

Figure 2.3. Protocol of pilot 2, 1st task, 'preservation' task.

A road is being constructed and the following will be threatened:

a) A 6th century archaeological site

b) A Byzantine church

c) A neoclassical building

d) An old factory that closed because production techniques changed

e) The house of the national poet

f) A lake which if drained would disturb the environmental balance of the area.

Which two would you prefer to preserve if you had to select one of the above options?

Questions

a. Why?

b. Why not?

Figure 2.4. Protocol of pilot 2, 2nd task, 'the prison' task.

An area with the remains of a prison used throughout periods of political oppression (from the German Occupation period up to the recent Dictatorship) is declared a *'lieu de memoir'* by the state and designated a monumental space. Additionally, it constitutes the only open space for the local population and could be used for a number of purposes including a park, a sports field, a school or a buildings area.

If you lived in that area, which of the options below would satisfy you?

□ The space should be preserved as it is as a reminder of the events

□ The space should be used in a way more responsive to the needs of the locals, taking into consideration the fact that the remains are not aesthetically pleasing.

2.3.3.2. (2nd) Pilot

- Type and conditions of the interviews

The semi-structured interviews were conducted in groups of three and they lasted between one and one-and-a-half hours.

- Rationale for the tasks

The specific 'content' option

1) The *prison* task

The task with the archaeological site option was altered to include a recent monument, the *prison remains.* A change of the content of the task was judged appropriate in order to check whether in April students 'endorsed' the past due to the use of an ancient monument as an option; students might have been 'guided' by their theoretical, encyclopaedic-type of education which advocates a respect for the past, cultures of the past or for whatever is considered as culture and especially ancient Greek culture.

Additionally, the prison that was opted to substitute for the ancient remains was not aesthetically pleasing and held bad memories: the research question had already been transformed from whether students use the past to how students select types of past.

2) The *preservation* task

The initial idea about the preservation task originates in the "Youth and History" project (Angvic and Von Borries, 1997). Slight adaptations of a cultural character, were made. A Byzantine church was substituted for the medieval church. The preservation task was approached not as a Likert scale task (as it had been in "Youth and History"); it was tailored to provoke a discussion. The rationale for both the tasks was to provoke comparisons between different time periods to see whether Greek students, when they refer to and seem to appreciate the past, have only the classical past in mind. For this reason the only present-day option was the lake task. The factory in the task was not in use.

Distribution of the tasks among the students

All the nine students, divided into three groups, had the same tasks: and first the conflict case and afterwards the preservation task.

Probes

Probes were only given to students during the prison task to encourage them to clarify their ideas.

2.3.4. Categories.

The figure 2.5 below presents the categories that evolved from the data analysis in the pilots of April and September 2003. The right column of figure 2.5 includes the categories that evolved from the September pilot and that were added to those that evolved from the April pilot: in this way one can see all the different students' stances towards the past that had been identified in the data when the piloting phase of this research was concluded. In section 2.3.5 the two sets of categories are compared, while in section 2.3.6 the categories are presented more analytically.

Figure 2.5. Different students' stances towards the past.

APRIL 2003	**APRIL 2003 and SEPTEMBER 2003**	
the **USES** of the past the students make	**EXPLICIT USE OF THE PAST**	I
√ identification with a common cultural past/present (identification with a broader 'we' possible)	**(A) PAST APPRECIATED**	D
√ appreciation of the past in general, past is culture	**1)** past as identity (national)	E
√ past is precious because it is remote, (antiquarian attitude)	**2)** past as identity (broader)	N
√ utilitarian:	**3)** past as identity (personal) personal experience (past important because you have experienced it) because you are involved	T
a) past guides in everyday/practical life (exemplary use)	**4)** past as something rare and remote	I
b) past to profit from	**5)** past as culture, culture as knowledge ('knowledge that elevates')	T
√ non appreciation of the past	**6)** past teaches (exemplary use)	Y
	7) past as a condition of present achievements	
	8) compromising solutions to the 'conflict'* problem, creative use of the past?	
	EXPLICIT USE OF THE PAST	
	(B) PAST NOT APPRECIATED	
	9) present needs	
	10) not pleasant	
	11) not flattering	
	12) pattern referring to the condition of the remains as a criterion of their retaining	
	IMPLICIT USE OF THE PAST	
	13) past as experience, exemplary sense	
	NO REFERENCE TO THE PAST	
	(atemporal)	

* The 'conflict' problems had been the 'archaeological site' task and the 'prison' task where students had to choose between past and present.

2.3.5. Comparison between the sets of categories that evolved from the pilots of April and September 2003.

- The common categories

Common categories were identified in the April and September pilots, such as the 'identity' category. Another common and 'strong' (because it appeared in both pilots), pattern was the appreciation of the 'past as something rare and precious', or the 'exemplary' use of the past.

- Differences

The change in focus, and the new tasks introduced in September, generated a whole new 'non-appreciation of the past' cluster of categories. Despite the fact that the research questions were the same, the first pilot focused more on different types of relation with the past. It also became clear that the answers received from the second task (the 'unfair war' task) in April were less of a non-appreciation of the past, but rather the lack of any reference or implicit reference to the past.

Figure 2.6. An overview of the tasks and the pilots.
Under what circumstances do students refer to the past?

	1st PILOT 'archaeological site' task guiding question	1st PILOT 'war' task indirect approach	2nd PILOT 'prison' task guiding question but a not desired past was used and not a classical one	2nd PILOT 'preservation' task monuments of different periods
PAST	**appreciation of the past**	**almost no reference to the past**	**non-appreciation of the past a whole new cluster of answers**	**present needs or the more remote the past is the more precious**

2.3.6. Initial analysis and codification of student answers-indicators

- Explicit reference to the past

Past appreciated (categories 1-8)

- The past as identity (categories 1, 2, 3)[1]
- The past that 'teaches' (categories 5, 6)
- The remote past (category 4) and others

Different tasks produced different answers. Students, when asked directly, seemed to appreciate the past, proving selective as regards the past period or époque they seemed to appreciate. The students' favourite period was the ancient one. Students' answers on the modern era monuments expose a variety of criteria, even aesthetic ones (for example Eleni sees the poems from the aesthetic point of view, not as 'monuments'). One can read the analysis below referring to Appendix A, "Pilot studies of April and September 2003/Excerpts from the interviews".

• category (1), 'past as national identity'. Reference to the past as national identity only appeared with the archaeological site task. It is also worth noting that when justifying the prison preservation, the students used the argument of the 'lived' past or of 'living' memory. In general, they opted for the ancient past.

Category (1) is established by the repetition of phrases such as: "we", "our", "people of some country", "they relate directly to the civilization and the history of one country" (Xanthippi, from the preservation task, who opted for the archaeological space and the church). The student responses did not simply illustrate that they had their national identity in mind. The students seemed to conclude that culture, here materialized as the monument, was part of one's identity or accounts for one's identity and for that reason requires protecting. The past is linked to a specific

[1] In the next pages where a description of the categories that evolved from the pilots' analysis is made, the numbering of the categories adopted is the one of Figure 2.5 on page 82.

country and is ensured by a certain culture; to know the past is to retain or to be aware of that culture.

Issues regarding category (1)

- *The emphasis on culture*

Students in this research pilots either identified "culture" with their own national past or understood different cultures as evidence of other existing peoples. Various excerpts from different tasks are indicative of the emphasis given by Greek students on culture. Giannis identified the preservation of the monument with the preservation of "cultural heritage" and the latter with the "history of the people of some country". He also seemed to believe that for one to know one's history is important, an uncontested value. When pressed to reason about the importance of historical knowledge, he answered: "... that is what justifies why I am Greek". When Eleftheria was asked why she considered the Greek war of independence of 1821 as a significant event she referred to the language, the preservation of the civilization and the common religion, elements that unified Greeks. She seemed to believe that Greeks were free to express themselves regarding these cultural aspects only after 1821.

Arguably there is a case here that this continued reference to "culture" and to the "exchange of ideas that bring people together"[1] is an artefact of the traditional Greek historiography that devised the specific 'plot'. The persistence of these ideas is so strong that even more accurate school books cannot cancel them: Eleftheria and her classmates have been taught by a book that explicitly asserts that the Ottomans let Greek people retain their religion and found schools, thus preserving their language (Σφυρόεραc[2], 1991: 112, 114). Thus, the latter persistence in certain 'schemas' could

[1] Eleftheria from April 2003 pilot study; her 'theory' was that Greeks felt that they belonged to the same group or nation only after the liberation war of 1821 when they "were free to communicate and exchange ideas".

[2] Sfyroeras, V. (1991): *History Modern and Contemporary,* Athens: National Office for the Publication of Textbooks (ΟΕΔΒ).

be an artefact of the Greek society as a whole (Κόκκινος[1], 2003: 114 and Liakos, 2001: 40).

- *'The past that compensates'*

Patterns that indicated a notion of the past as 'knowledge that elevates' (category 5 in Figure 2.5. and excerpts a and b in the Appendix A: 288) were identified twice in April; the latter patterns were developed in relation to the ancient Greek civilization[2].The fact that the emphasis on the ancient Greek civilization constitutes also a part of the official Greek narrative initially led to the creation of another category: 'the past that compensates for anything we don't have'.

Traditional Greek historiography has treated the past in this way, encouraging identification with a past that was presented as flattering. Petropoulos spoke about the "dead past" (meaning the antiquity) that substituted for the "living past" (the recent past of the Ottoman order) for the purpose of "altering the present" (Petropoulos, 1978: 163-164).

The phenomenon was not repeated in September after the change of the task content and the use of an 'ugly' modern prison instead of an archaeological site: there was no expectation on the part of the students that the prison would 'elevate' people or 'compensate' them for things they lacked. Students actually used a 'reverse' thought: not only did not the prison 'elevate' them but it also constituted an "unflattering past" (category 11 in Figure 2.5.).

- *Old and ancient.*

In April, the students appeared to use the term 'ancient' instead of the term 'old'. This happened twice in two interviews out of the four. For example Stamatis insisted on knowing about ancient civilizations and ancient people only, despite my probes. It is true that the task referred to the preservation of an archaeological site but in our discussion there was a transition to the past in general. Manolis also opted for the ancient civilizations (excerpts d and e of category 1 in the Appendix A).

[1] Kokkinos, G. (2003): *Discipline, Ideology, Identity*, Athens: Metaichmio.

[2] The excerpts appeared in the 'archaeological site' conflict case of April 2003.

In September, when students were asked "how can we know about the past", they referred to ancient sources and used Thucydides as an example of 'objective' historiography, contrasting this with Homer where "you don't have consistent information". This could be a product of the Greek curriculum, which is to be expected (see the discussion above) but one need not exaggerate it.

On the whole there seems to be a preference on the part of Greek students for the ancient periods of history and especially for Greek antiquity. This ought to be expected not only because of the impact of traditional historiography but also because of the several monuments that surround the students.

• Category (2), 'past as broader identity'. Here again a pattern emerges more than once from the archaeological site task, demonstrated by students' use of phrases such as: "useful to the rest of ***humanity***", "knowledge to ***many*** people". When Nora says "useful" she could imply 'useful because it teaches' (Nora in excerpt a of category 2 in Appendix A.). The latter implication is sustained by another excerpt where reference is made to "knowledge to many people" (Nadia, excerpt c of category 2 in Appendix A.).

Additionally, different versions of the past refer to different people. Nadia's words are indicative of the latter use: ***"my ancestors' house doesn't offer anything to the rest of the world*** but to me alone."

• Category (3), 'personal past': this pattern appeared in September (2nd pilot). Students used a very emotional vocabulary and defined the past as their personal awareness of it. They spoke a great deal about memories which were rendered significant because they were personal and referred to experienced or witnessed events. Other phrases used included: being "inside one's heart" and "demolishing one's whole life". It is important to note that the students distinguished between the past as 'information' and the past as something they remembered and were concerned enough about to retain. Vasiliki states: "for those that had these 'viomata' in the prisons ('viomata' in Greek means personal experience) the others will learn, will feel some things, ***but they won't keep them*** because ***these people will not have been through the experience***".

It is also important to note that the 'personal experience' argument is used by those students who opted for the destruction of the monument and also by those students who opted for its preservation. When justifying the preservation of the prison, the students used the argument of the 'lived' past or of the 'living' memory, in the sense that:

- The people that participated in the events are still alive and that the monument 'materializes' their memory; or
- the memory allows other people, who have not directly experienced an event, to 'live' it. Memory is protected through direct experience, and monuments provide that sense of direct experience.

The students that argued for the destruction of the prison claimed that the people with personal experience of the site did not need a materialization of their memories; their direct experience and personal involvement were enough.

• Category (4), 'the past as something rare and remote': all seven of the interviews from April and September demonstrated that ancient remains are considered to be more important. Though, this does not necessarily mean that the students better appreciated the ancient past when compared with the more recent; it could also show disciplinary concern, or demonstrate an 'every day' logic: we are more likely to appreciate rare things, thus rendering them precious. The use of phrases indicating the difficulty of reviving the past and pinpointing the distance that separates us from the past illustrated the reasoning behind why the past is precious.

• Category (5), 'past as culture, culture as knowledge', there is a reference to 'culture' but in a utilitarian way, as knowledge. There are no identity feelings as in category (1). This pattern could mean at least two things: either the past 'elevating' us, as something good to know about, or the past as historical or disciplinary knowledge. In both cases, the past was used as 'concrete' knowledge or as pieces of information. Even in the 'elevating case', in which reference was made to 'culture', the latter had an encyclopaedic, not existential dimension, for example Manolis remarked: "...culture about ancient Greece would be developed". Equally 'concrete' or 'naïve' is the disciplinary understanding as expressed by Vangelis: ". . . so with

what they did ***they destroyed history***, so there will be no history, ***only books that won't be proving anything ...***" For the past to exist it needs a concrete background. No specific phrases as indicators of the category.

• Category (6), 'the past teaches', 'the exemplary use' of the past. Under category 6 another approach was introduced: the 'exemplary use of the past'. A pattern that appears more than once, the exemplary use of history was demonstrated by phrases such as "teaches", "examples", "repeats" or by reference to similarities between past and present. There were responses like "actually they are helped ***in order not to repeat mistakes...***" (Vangelis). The implication was that the past and the present are alike and one can benefit from the similarities between them. There were also different reactions including scepticism towards peoples' capacity to learn from the past.

• Category (7), 'past as a condition of present achievements': a common pattern that appears more than once. Slight similarities with categories 5 and 6 are exhibited in the sense that because the past teaches us, we use the past to build the present. The difference lies on the continuity between past and present which is emphasized by category (7). Examples like Nora's: "***...if these medicines had not been discovered, it wouldn't be*** that easy now..." or others, demonstrated this.

• Category (8), 'compromising solutions to the conflict problem': this category investigated the students' 'creative' use of the past. The students offered solutions to the conflict cases[1] posed. (There were times that they were prevented from doing so in order to give a 'clear' answer to the problem.) The extracts below are drawn from those times when the students were not prevented from offering their own — not the given — solutions. For example, Vangelis suggested the removal of the remains only after the archaeologists had finished their work, (disciplinary concern as well?). Nadia suggested keeping some of the remains in boxes and Manolis suggested destroying the prison after engraving the names of the prison inmates.

[1] 'Conflict' cases were the 'archaeological site' and the 'prison' tasks where students had to choose between past and present.

Past not appreciated (categories 9-12)

(the selective past)

Categories 9, 10 and 11 can be clustered together, because they express a non-appreciation, or even a rejection, of the past. The categories also expressed the students' selective attitudes: the students accepted the past under certain conditions, for example, where it was pleasant, or 'praised', flattered them.

• Category (9), 'present needs'. This was a common pattern emerging from all seven of the interviews, provoked by both the archaeological site and the prison tasks. The archaeological task spoke about a neighbourhood that "lacked" open space and the prison task referred to people's needs.

A typical excerpt from Aristomenis: ". . . ***but it is more important to cover the present needs*** . . ." Additionally students might imply that present needs are important without actually using the word "needs"; Vangelis: "***that would be for the benefit of the youth...*** ".

Attention should be given to Haralambos' answer who opts for the preservation of the lake because "...the destruction of which will affect directly our lives". Perhaps this should not be exaggerated because there was no follow up. However, one gets the impression that the student distinguishes between two types of destructions: the environmental ones have a direct impact on people, whereas the destruction of historical monuments or evidence creates no emergencies. There is a slight notion here of the specific students' reaction that Shemilt (Shemilt, 1980: 21) described as lack of "personal relevance of history". Haralambos seems to believe that history or the destruction of historical evidence should not be of his concern.

• Category (10), 'not pleasant'. The 'not pleasant' expression seems to have been used by the students in two ways: first when students commented on the prison from the aesthetic point of view like Eleni, ". . . ***is not even a beautiful place***". Similar patterns were articulated by the other students in the group and the word "pleasant" was repeated. From the responses it would seem that the majority wished for the demolition of the prison due to the fact that it was an ugly building. Second when students commented on the prison from the 'content' point of view: in the latter case

the prison was seen as a building that carried with it unpleasant memories of violence and political oppression.

• Category (11), 'not flattering': students opted for the destruction of the prison (where political prisoners were kept) because the Dictatorship which used the prison was not a flattering past for their country. Eleni and Haralambos spoke about "our misery with the dictatorship".

• Category (12) is a pattern relating to the condition of the remains. This pattern only appeared in September and was partly owing to the wording of the prison task that talked about prison "remains":

Haralambos when referring to the prison used the phrases: ". . . because after all it is a ***relic*** . . . if it was the ***whole*** of it . . ."

This pattern also appeared in the preservation exercise:

Aristomenis (when explaining his options in the preservation exercise): ". . . if there is ***the whole of it"***, (referring to the archaeological site option). On the other hand Chronis would preserve a monument **". . . *depending on its condition* . . ."**

These extracts at first sight exhibit a naive, non-disciplinary perception of the historical evidence: you need 'the whole of it' to understand its meaning. The more evidence you have the more complete the picture of the past is. If the piece of evidence is complete then you might have a direct access to the past. Evidence is understood as the information we use in the present. It might be similar to levels 1 and 2 of CHATA (Lee, Ashby and Dickinson, 1995: 61).

On the other hand students in Greece are aware of archaeological procedures, they read a lot about archaeological findings in the press and they usually get excited because of the 'hidden mysteries'. The latter behaviour applies equally to students of high and low performance at school. This is why I believe that the excerpts above should be assessed individually, for each student separately: they might conversely exhibit sophisticated and complex metahistorical considerations. Aristomenis for example, combined two criteria: the present condition of the past remains and their

age. It is often true that an old object acquires value depending on its condition. The value of a piece of art usually depends on its rarity, condition and on how old it is.

- Implicit reference to the past *(category13)* and atemporal answers

• Category 13: There was only one student who referred to the very recent past or the present to justify the aversion for the war: Nora supported the idea that "[war is always unfair] because innocent people get killed whereas there is disagreement among the leaders"; after the interviewer's probing she referred to the war in Iraq[1]. Nora's 'theory' about war could be considered as a "substantive generalization". "Substantive generalizations"[2] refer to students' substantive ideas about how things work in people's lives in the past, and these ideas are supposed to guide people in the present. The phenomenon of using an extended present (in Nora's case the war in Iraq) instead of the past also appeared in the main data collection. Nora's generalization about wars developed into past reference. The latter case indicates that those generalizations used by students are in fact *implicit past references;* though these generalisations are only classified as such if students end up with actually referring to the past at some point of the interview.

Statements about "unfair wars"[3] that would prevent them from participation were also elicited by the rest[4] of the students: students just repeated that they would never participate in an unfair war and that participating in unfair wars was not to count as 'patriotism'. They did not, however, make a generalization like Nora about what causes the wars and about what the consequences are. Thus, students' answers as described above were classified as 'atemporal'.

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[1] The interviews took place in April 2003. The war in Iraq started just in March 2003.

[2] "Substantive assumptions" or "summative generalizations" as used by Lee (2002: 28-29). "Substantive" ideas refer to the 'content' of history, in contrast to the "second-order" ideas about how the discipline of history works, (Lee, 2005: 32).

[3] Students either repeated the task wording about 'a' specific war they were asked about, or commented about the phenomena of 'war', 'conflict' and 'violence' in general.

[4] The 'rest' of the students were two students out of the six students that were given the 'war' task (see Figure 2.2).

It was only after my 'prompt'[1] that two other students also referred to the past: in the latter cases they did not name the "past" or "history" but they were able to remember of instances of unfair wars in history. Giannis started by using a "substantive generalization" and a lot of time adverbs: "I don't think that a war can ***ever*** be justified, the wars ***always*** are not . . . they ***never*** are what is said, people are going to war ***always*** for interests . . ." (Giannis). When I probed, the reference became concrete (Giannis used examples of specific wars). Stelios' thoughts also seemed to have developed like Giannis'. Giannis' and Stelios' cases above were also classified as *implicit past references* because their past reference appeared only after my probing.

Figure 2.7. Synopsis.
Under what circumstances do students refer to the past?

students express appreciation of the past in the following cases:	*depending*
a. when they are asked directly *(the past option recognisable)*	**on the WAY of asking**
b. when reference is made to the ancient/remote/classical past **c. when the past evokes pleasant and flattering memories** **d. when the past is personally experienced**	**on the CONTENT of the task**

2.4. CONCLUSION

This research seeks to identify students' constructs of the past, to uncover the meanings the students give to their past, thus, a qualitative, ethnographic approach is followed. Ethnographic, qualitative, in-depth interviews were selected as a means to collect data. This research is exploratory with the aim to "uncover [the] relevant

[1] "Are there cases where violence is justified?"

conditions" (Corbin and Strauss, 1990: 3) under which students refer to the past: processes similar to the grounded theory method seem to be the most appropriate to be adopted.

The pilot that preceded this research gave indications of the circumstances under which students refer to the past and also the uses of the past they make. The pilot study suggested that students tend to refer to the past more when they are asked directly about it. It must also be noted that a great variety of answers were received regarding the use students make of the past. The students identified with a 'flattering' and 'pleasant' past or with certain time periods for various reasons. On the whole, students' performance depended a lot on the type and the content of the tasks. Students seemed to have been selective in relation to the past they used while they 'appropriated' a past they were already familiar with: the classical past or the personal past of their own experiences. Students seemed to have selected types of past that were 'meaningful' for their personal and collective identity.

Chapter 3: The Data

3.1. ACCOUNT OF MAIN DATA COLLECTION

3.1.1. INTRODUCTION

This chapter refers to methodological issues in relation to the data of this research. It comprises two parts: the final decisions about the main data collection and the research strategy adopted for data analysis. The part about the main data collection process comprises the final decisions about the *sampling* and the final decisions about the *interviews tasks*. The considerations that arose from the pilots in relation to the interviews tasks are also displayed. The table on page 97 gives a synopsis of the research strategy followed in the main data collection (the schools, the size sample and the occasions of sampling).

Table 3.1. Population and sampling.

INTERVIEWS: FEBRUARY/MARCH 2004							
SCHOOLS AREAS IN ATHENS	**AGE/ GRADE**	**SAMPLE SIZE**	**BOYS**	**GIRLS**	**PERFOR-MANCE AT SCHOOL (all lesons)**	**PERFOR-MANCE AT SCHOOL (in history)**	**OCCA-SIONS FOR SAMPLING**
NEA SMYRNI	15 y 3rd year Junior H	24	10	14	high = 08 middle = 12 low = 04	high = 15 middle = 05 low = 04	**written sample** (interviews followed)
KALLITHEA	15 y 3rd year Junior H	12	06	06	high = 05 middle = 07 low = –	high = 08 middle = 04 low = –	**written sample** (interviews followed)
PATISSIA	15 y 3rd year Junior H	09	04	05	high = 02 middle = 04 low = 03	high = 02 middle = 04 low = 03	**written sample** (interviews followed)
KERATSINI	15 y 3rd year Junior H	03	02	01	high = – middle = – low = 03	high = – middle = – low = 03	**volunteered** (written part followed)
AGIOS ARTEMIOS	15th y 3rd year Junior H	06	01	05	high = 03 middle = 03 low = –	high = 04 middle = 02 low = –	**volunteered** (written part followed)
PANGRATI	15th y 3rd year Junior H	03	01	02	high = 03 middle = – low = –	high = 03 middle = – low = –	**written sample** (interviews followed)
PHILOTHEI	15th y 3rd year Junior H	03	01	02	high = 03 middle = – low = –	high = 03 middle = – low = –	**written sample** (interviews followed)

Table 3.2. The 'overall' picture regarding the students.

				number of students
performance at school	high 24	middle 26	low 10	60
performance in history	high 35	middle 15	low 10	60
sex	boys	girls	number of students	
	25	35	60	

Table 3.3. The 'overall' picture regarding the schools/'settings'.

			number of schools
socio/economic context of the school	**upper-middle (27 students)** Nea Smyrni Philothei	**mixed, difficult to define (33 students)** Patissia Keratsini Agios Artemios Pangrati Kallithea	**7 (60 students)**
occasions for sampling	**written tasks** Nea Smyrni Kallithea Philothei Patissia Pangrati	**volunteered** Agios Artemios Keratsini	**7 (60 students)**

notes:
- "Performance at school" is the average (out of all the lessons) mark of the previous school year, the mark with which students graduated in the school year 2002-2003.
- "Performance in history" is the mark students had in history only, in the trimester in which the research was carried out (Spring 2004).
- Most of the interviews were carried out between the 24th of February and the 17th of March.
- This research was conducted by permission of the Institute of Pedagogy in Athens (Παιδαγωγικό Ινστιτούτο), act 1/2004, protocole number 27284/Γ2.

Figure 3.1. Research questions.

The questions of this research are:

- Do students refer to the past while addressing current problems?
- Under what circumstances do students refer to the past?
- What type of the past do students refer to? Do students understand the past as an ontological entity or as something that is to be reconstructed by the historian?
- Do Greek students have a certain framework for Greek history? To what extent does this framework intervene in students' thought?

3.1.2. Occasions for sampling — Final decisions

- Age and 'performance' issues in relation to the sample — the 'size' of the sample.

The study focused on the perspectives of fifteen-year-old students, (the third class of the junior high school) because at age fifteen the students conclude their nine years their obligatory education.

In Greece, pupils are distributed in classes according to their age and not according to their performance. Thus the fifteen- year-old students, the target population of this research, all come from the third class of the junior high school. Any class sample from the three schools would be representative as to ability or performance. It would also be representative of the common historical background since the educational system in Greece is centralized and pupils are taught similar material. But it must be remembered that teaching by individual teachers can vary enormously and thus function as a limitation to this research.

This is a small-scale qualitative piece of research with no purpose of generalizing. As the aim is an in-depth analysis, a sample of sixty students (twenty groups comprising three students each) is a reasonable sample, permitting a descriptive statistical analysis (Cohen and Manion, 2000: 93).

- Representativeness of the sample

In the pilot, the sampling took place on a deliberate basis. Most of the students were from one school and they volunteered. The sampling of the two pilots (14^{th}/15^{th} April and 18th and 22nd September) was based on convenience, (Cohen, and Manion, 2000: 102). It was arranged at short notice and the schools constituted 'specific' types of schools: one school was experimental and the other private.

Although this small-scale research does not seek to generalize and because it is an exploratory study of fifteen year old students relationship with the past, is it is wished that at least what Cohen and Manion, (Cohen, and Manion, 2000: 109) call "selection-setting-history" effects are avoided. As Lincoln and Cuba point out, terms like "selection-setting-history" effects belong to quantitative research (Lincoln and Guba, 1985: 298); nevertheless, and because there is only little research background in Greek students' historical consciousness, it was desirable that the findings of this study would not be typical of specific schools or specific school areas. Thus, a more differentiated schools sample was sought for the main data collection.

Instead of generalizability, Lincoln and Guba (Lincoln and Guba, 1985: 297-298) suggest the term "transferability" and Alasuutari the term "extrapolation" for qualitative research (Alasuutari in Silverman, 2000:110). Transferability indicates the transference of conclusions from a specific research setting not to any possible other setting, but to another that has been judged as similar to the first. The researcher gives a thick description of the conditions under which the research in question took place. The reader decides about its transferability. Both these alternative terms indicate that the conclusions reached at the research, if not generalizable, ought to provide the possibility of judgement, on the part of the reader, regarding their use in other settings. A detailed account will therefore be given of how the main data collection in this research was conducted.

- The sampling strategy regarding the schools, the settings' sample — Time constraints

The aim of this research was to extract the richest and most differentiated data possible and this research would thus gain from an accordingly differentiated students' population, differentiated from any relevant point of view.

Accordingly, because of the exploratory character of this research into Greek students' relationship to the past, there was no hypothesis in relation to possible factors contributing to the formation of fifteen year old students' historical consciousness. Thus, extended preliminary research would be essential in order to focus in specific 'subgroups' in the Greek or the Athenian students' population. There was no time to explore other more specific sample options because the research was conducted in a very difficult period for the Greek schools: due to the Olympic Games of Athens 2004 schools were expected to close earlier that year for the summer. As a result the research had to be conducted in spring between the national elections of March 2004 and the Easter vacation. Thus, there was no opportunity for a "strata-selection" sampling strategy.

The final settings' or areas' sample could be called a "maximum variation" (Patton, 1990: 172) sample: the first interviews took place in schools that were easily approached ("convenience" sample as in Strauss and Corbin, 1998: 208). Whenever there was a possibility of choosing among schools from diverse areas (towards the end of the data collection period) I purposefully opted for schools that socio-economically had not so far been included in my sample.

The sample comprised seven schools from the center of Athens and Piraeus: the school of Philothei constitutes an upper class school, because it is a private one and there is an income 'barrier', but at the same time it is an extremely small part of the whole sample. Nea Smyrni (experimental[1]) is a mixed case regarding the income of the students' parents, but parents tend to be educated. Finally, it is difficult to define

[1] "Experimental" are the schools where new teaching programs are being piloted; the students of experimental schools are selected by lottery not by their school performance, consequently students in experimental schools in Greece are of mixed performance.

socio-economically the rest of the schools because economic or social groups in the centre of Athens are not clearly distributed in certain areas.

- The sampling strategy regarding the students of each school

It was decided from the beginning that the interviews had to be "follow up" or "focused" ones (Cohen and Manion, 2000: 290) because the questions were demanding from a time point of view. "Focused" not in the sense they are presented by Cohen and Manion: "....the distinctive feature of the focused interview is the prior analysis by the researcher of the situation in which subjects have been involved ... she has thus arrived at a set of hypotheses relating to the meaning... ". Students' written responses tended to be elliptical and conclusions regarding the meaning of the students' responses were difficult to draw. Consequently the interviews had to be "follow up" ones like those described by Shemilt: "In practice, each subject was asked to *clarify* and *amplify* his ideas, ... to *explicate* the logic of his arguments-what made him think something ..." (Shemilt, 1987: 42, my emphasis). To conclude the written tasks process could not have been disentangled from the interviews process, because there was not enough time for the interviews to function as an autonomous research instrument.

A basis was therefore needed regarding the students that would finally be called for the interview. The written data functioned as a basis. For the above reasons students whose papers were blank or those whose answers were extremely 'weak' were not called for the interviews: 'weak' not in the sense that no meaning could be deduced, because these answers were exactly the ones that needed to be clarified by the interviews. 'Weak' not in the sense of 'naive' either, because epistemologically naive answers usually hide interesting implications; 'weak' only in the sense that no reasoning was apparent, not even an elliptical one: it was speculated that with those students much more time would be needed than the time pre-decided, and the time pre-decided was only thirty minutes for each student. Practical considerations prevailed for the latter decision: throughout the pilots period students that were interviewed tended to be tired after the first hour of the interview. On the other hand, the one hour and a half interview time practically was two teaching hours in the

Greek school; it was not easy to demand for more teaching hours in sequence because students would miss lessons.

- Limitations regarding the sampling strategy

The aim of this research was to produce the richest patterns possible regarding students' relationship with the past and the notion of 'rich' also implies variety. From that point of view it could be a pity that a whole group of students, the ones that didn't manage to articulate some type of reasoning, even in an elliptical form, did not participate in the interviews. Rich and useful data of students that could not perhaps express themselves in a written form, or did not want to participate in the process at the time of the research, is lost.

- Advantages of the present sample

The sample of this research regarding the students who were interviewed is sufficiently representative to meet its aims. Representative not in the sense the term bears in the quantitative research, but in the sense Strauss and Corbin transfer the term in theory building methodologies: "When building theory inductively, the concern is with representation of concepts and how concepts vary dimensionally", (Strauss and Corbin, 1998: 214). This sample has the following advantages:

- It originates in a variety of settings

- Despite the fact that a group of students did not participate in the interviews, the rest were invited on the "maximum variety" principle. I opted for those students' papers that included interesting ways of reasoning for the goals of the research. Sometimes this reasoning was 'naive', other times sophisticated. I tried to include in every group students with different stances towards the past, and certainly students who held 'strong' even provocative views, because I sensed that they would be more spontaneous and eager to talk. I also included students who were critical regarding the process or the instruments: a lot of students criticized the Elgin marbles task; they said there was nothing to talk about and left the space of the specific task blank (after making the comment above).

- Although the initial aim was to conduct follow-up interviews, this was not always the case. There were days that it was not possible to work with a whole class in a specific school. As one can see on the Table 3.1., "Population and sampling", sometimes the interviews preceded the written process so students were invited to volunteer[1]. If people who had writing difficulty were excluded from the interviews in certain schools, some of these people were in the end in a position to participate in Agios Artemios and Keratsini. In the end, as Tables 3.2. and 3.3. show, the sample is 'balanced': 'balanced' in terms of 'ability' and 'gender' because students participated not only on the basis of their written papers, but also on their own initiative. Balanced also regarding students' stances towards history and the past as the latter appeared in the written part of the research.

3.1.3 The written sample

The written sample[2] consists of 140 students' papers. The tasks used in the written sample were almost the same as the ones in the interviews. A complete written task can be found in Appendix B. A table that compares the written tasks with the interviews tasks can also be found again in Appendix B.

The written part was supposed to precede the interviews to allow the interview to be more focused. The requirement for focus was essential again because of the time constraints: teaching hours in Greek schools can be very short; therefore it would be better if the participating students were familiar with the content of the tasks. However, for practical reasons this was not always the case. The analysis of the data was mainly restricted to the interviews which provided data rich enough to have a 'detailed' picture of students' relationship with the past.

Nevertheless, one hundred and forty students' papers from the written sample were also analysed in relation to two tasks: the 'three different issues' task and the 'change' task. The reason why these two tasks were selected to be analysed is that

[1] In the 'volunteer' process students of a certain class (a class in a Greek school has from twenty to thirty students) were encouraged to participate in the research. The students that would be interviewed were finally selected randomly from those who volunteered.

[2] The tasks, the written tasks and the interview tasks, in English and in Greek (the originals) can be found in the Appendix B.

they respond to the main question of this research: to what extent do students refer to the past while addressing a current problem? ('three different issues' task). Additionally, do students use the past when they need to make predictions? ('change' task).

The findings from the written sample are in accordance with the findings from the interviews, which will be presented in the next two chapters of this study. As tables 1 and 2 from the Appendix F suggest, students' responses in the written tasks depended mainly on the type of the question (indirect/direct) and the content of the task ('environment' issue and 'Elgin marbles' issue).

Additionally, as table 3 from the same Appendix F suggests students in the written sample made frequent use of the 'extended present' as past when they had to predict the future.

The written sample offers more 'objective' data since there is no interaction between the interviewer and the interviewee. Nevertheless, there were disadvantages: students in this research had limited time to respond to four tasks. The one hundred and forty papers that were finally codified were the ones in which students responded to all of the questions. A lot of papers were not analysed because students left blank spaces. Furthermore, some students' answers were not finally allocated to certain categories (as one can see from the Appendix F). While students were willing to answer and produced relatively long texts, many times they ended up with tautologies or 'incomplete' reasoning which made coding liable to error.

On the whole, the written sample is useful in relation to the 'tendencies' that were identified in this research: students' *unconscious use of the past* (they endorsed the past mainly in the direct questions) and their *predilection for the recent past* or their *presentism* ('change' task). The 'change' task from the written sample had the same indicators as the 'change' task from the interviews. Common indicators among the interviews sample and the written sample were also located in the 'exemplary use of the past' category and the latter category is restricted to the use of the recent past.

3.1.4. The rationale for the interview tasks

- The rationale of the set and the issue of the order

An interview protocol is given on page 300 of Appendix B. The tasks have been designed to function as a set, therefore their order is important. The central issue is whether students refer to the past and under what certain circumstances. Therefore, the tasks that were given to the students combined problems of different content. The final decisions about the main research tasks were based on relevant research tradition and on the experience gained from the pilots.

- Relevant research tradition regarding the variation of the tasks' content

The research conducted in cognitive psychology often involves a variation of the tasks' content for triangulation reasons, to check whether students' performance is consistent throughout tasks of different content, for example, Lee, Ashby and Dickinson (Lee, Ashby and Dickinson, 1993: 5). The practice of changing the content of the research tasks is therefore a common one within the field and it is used to avoid effects stemming from the content of specific instruments; this study also functions within the above 'context' of preceding research.

The contextualized character of the individuals' performance has also been indicated by "global stages" theorists like Piaget (Piaget in Duska and Whelam, 1977: 13 and in Hallam, 1970: 163). The role of "context" as a contributor to performance has been central to the work and argumentation of cultural psychology which criticized the notion of the context-free experimental studies (Cole, Engestrom and Vasquez, 1997: 5-7). On the other hand, Vygotsky, Luria and Leont'ev had long before introduced "tools" in their experiments' organization in order to exhibit the mediated character of human performance.

Perhaps the most important reason why there are different content tasks in this research, is that this is a qualitative study which aims to describe a phenomenon as perceived by the participants. The phenomenon is 15 year old students' relationship with the past, their appreciation or non appreciation of it. This study is intended to explain the "conditions" under which the phenomenon appears and evolves (Miles

and Huberman, 1994: 29). More specifically this research aims to display the conditions under which historical consciousness evolves in a group of 15-year-old students. Different task content 'simulates' different conditions in real life and provokes different constructs on the part of the students involved.

Another point which illuminates the selection of the specific tasks is the need to use "concrete" cases as a way to diagnose students' relationship with the past. Historical consciousness ought to be active in one's everyday life since it combines an evaluation of past experience in order to resolve problems of the present. An effort was made for the tasks to be as realistic as possible. The tasks were also given in a 'plot' form so that the students could engage more easily. This whole conceptualization originates in the "Youth and History" project (Angvic and Von Borries, 1997: A153) the first empirical survey that combined a mapping of students' perception of politics and of history at the same time. The preservation task about the road under construction was adapted to Greek circumstances. The original idea for the Elgin marbles task is owed to Stuart Foster, one of my supervisors. Pilots with the three different problems set and the narrative task had already been employed in England by Peter Lee (Lee, 2002: 27).

- Considerations for main data collection arising from the pilots.

The pilots were very important in relation to the research design of this study because certain parameters of students' historical consciousness, *selectivity* for example, were suggested by the analysis of the pilots. Students' tendency to select pasts depending on the task they were given and the way the several questions were asked, informed the final selection of the tasks. The pilots and the main data collection were conducted in a process that could be considered similar to the grounded theory process[1] of collecting data. The whole research took place in three phases: the analysis of the pilots in April 2003 led to decisions about the tasks for the pilots in Septermber 2003, while the analysis of the pilots of September 2003 led to the final decisions about the main data collection. Actually the two pilots and the

[1] Corbin and Strauss state that in grounded theory methodology "data collection and analysis are interrelated processes" (Corbin and Strauss, 1990: 6).

main data collection together can be considered as three different phases of the main data collection.

The way of asking (direct, indirect)

The question about the circumstances under which students refer to the past came up after the pilot in April and September 2003 were concluded. In the April pilot the strategy that was adopted regarding the instruments combined direct and indirect way of asking about the past. The 'archaeological site' task offered recognizable options and students were asked directly for their stance towards past and present. The 'war' task bore no past reference from the wording point of view. The problem displayed by the 'war' task could be handled in several ways, not necessarily in a 'temporal way'.

Figure 3.2. April 2003 Pilot.

1st task

You are living in a small town where a new sports centre is going to be built; works begin and an archaeological site is discovered. As you have children, and your neighbourhood lacks open space, you are called to vote. How would you vote: for or against the preservation of the archaeological site?

2nd task

Your country is involved in a war, aiding a traditionally and historically 'ally' country, a war that is unjustified and unfair. How do you think you would react if you were either of recruitment age or below recruitment age?

The analysis that followed brought to the fore strong evidence that students respond differently when the way of asking changes. When students faced the 'archaeological site' task the majority opted to refer to the past. The same students facing the 'war' tended to be 'atemporal'.

The content of the tasks

The repetition of the pilot in September 2003 with a new task brought to the fore the fact that students' answers are also dependent on the 'content' of the task and not

only on the direct or indirect way of asking. The preservation of a political prison as a "lieu de memoire" substituted for the 'archaeological site' problem. Students were distributed among those who decided with historical or political criteria and those who adopted 'aesthetic'criteria. The first group opted for the preservation of the prison emphasizing its historical and political significance. The others opted for its demolition since the prison was an "ugly" building no longer in use ("ugly" from students' excerpts).

The preservation task in the same pilot similarly showed that students' stances towards the past in their responses are also dependent on the 'items' suggested to them, therefore on the 'content' of the problem.

Figure 3.3. September 2003 Pilot, 'preservation' task.

A road is being constructed and the following will be threatened:
a) an archaeological site of the 6th century
b) a Byzantine church
c) a neoclassical building
d) an old factory that closed because the way of production changed
e) the house of the national poet
f) a lake, the draining of which disturb the environmental balance of the area .
Which two would you prefer to preserve If you had to select among the above?

3.1.5. Final decisions about the tasks and description of the main research instruments

- First task: the three different issues set (environment, vote, Elgin marbles)

Three different issues[1] were given to the students: The first was a current problem of everyday life, the second was a political and the third was a historical and political one with potential reference to 'national identity' issues and the 'national narrative'.

[1]In a first phase students were asked to decide about different problems and in a second phase they were *directly* asked about the past: they were asked whether the past would be useful for them to decide about the same problems. A complete interview protocol can be found on page 300 of Appendix B.

By using these three problems (environment, vote, Elgin marbles) the research mapped students' reasoning as they referred to the past. The research highlighted the special conditions that allowed students to 'use' the past or identify with it.

The order in which the questions were given to the students was important to this research: students were first asked to express an opinion about all these problems, then they were asked to think the problems over and explain what would they need to know in order to decide. Finally, they were asked directly whether the past would be useful regarding their decision. Precaution was taken by the researcher not to refer to the past until the last moment.

- Second task: the 'preservation' task

The second task was a 'preservation' task[1] like the one used in the pilot research (April and September 2003). The preservation exercises are significance exercises that indicate what is most important for the students. A significance exercise can also allow one to make inferences about the resources students make use of. For example it is not strange that Greek students feel so much attached to the 'remote past' if one thinks of Greek politics, the Greek state educational system and Greek history textbooks. The rationale for each option of the preservation task will be displayed below.

The 'ancient temple' signified the classical past, which is an important part of our history teaching and perhaps national ideology even today. The 'Byzantine church' reflects religion and another type of identity issue. These pasts, the 'temple' and the 'Byzantine church', also signify 'art' and 'culture' (at least for the students who understood that a Byzantine church is an archaeological site and not a mere church). Piloting has shown that 'art' and 'culture' are non contested values for Greek students: pieces of art should be preserved anyway ("past as culture" category of the April pilot).

[1] Preservation task of the main data collection: six past items would be endangered by the construction of a road; students had to choose the most important past items to be preserved (page 301 of Appendix B).

The 'political prison' (at least for the students that understood the monument as a political prison and not as a mere prison) signifies the recent historical past. Because recent pasts usually escape the myths, they are often contested and they are not always included in national narratives taught in schools. National narratives tend to retain permanent, non contested truths (Novick, 1999: 170). The expectation was that this specific past option would not engage students in the same way as the ancient temple and the Byzantine church. The prison also had the disadvantage of being aesthetically undesired.

The 'neoclassical building' was an old building, aesthetically absolutely desired (neoclassical buildings are the most beautiful in Greek cities), but again a building not obviously connected with any specific historical and 'glorious' past. The tendency among students was to treat it as if it had no monumental dimension at all.

The 'watermill' was selected as a kind of 'humble' everyday past. The watermill was given as belonging to the 19th century like the neoclassical buildings, but the students' reactions were totally different. Actually watermills are a great part of Greek history, but not of that type of history that one finds in history textboks. Watermills were used to produce energy for small manufacture units in Greece up to the 1950s. Watermills are a part of our pre-industrial history and played a significant role as infrastructure for our 1821 revolution because some of them were used to produce gun powder. The problem is that this kind of information is not usually found in textbooks, possibly because it is not glorious enough. Students really (both in the January and February pilots and in the main data collection) couldn't tell why one would like to preserve just a watermill. If further data is collected it may be valuable to see what would happen if one presented the watermill as a unit that produced gunpowder during the revolution and not as a mere humble watermill.

The 'poet's house' was selected as representing 'culture'. The poet would not be a "national poet", but a mere, generally approved, poet and he would not be an ancient one either, because that would confuse things again. So, taken for granted that the modern poet was not connected to any specific taught at the school past, what would be at stake for the students, what values would be recalled, would students attribute value/significance to a poet's house or not?

On the whole 'significance exercises' have to do with values and values lead to selections, selectivity is the base of historical consciousness. Rüsen (Rüsen, 1993) emphasized the narrative dimension of the historical consciousness: people attempt to solve present problems and control the unpredictable future by emplotting 'significant' events in an explanatory narrative.

- Third task: the 'change' task

Historical consciousness has to do with people's orientation within past, present and future. Is it the present that leads us to certain constructs about the past, or the future? (Koselleck in Zamito, 2004 and Rusen, 1993: 4). More importantly for the questions of this research: do students resort to the past when they are predicting the future[1] or merely referring to the future, or not? What are students' notions of change in history? Do they really believe that things change a lot in the way that discontinuities are created or not? Finally, what is their notion of the 'rate' and the 'direction' of change in history?

- Fourth task: the narrative task

Students were asked to give a brief account of the history of Greece. It was emphasized that they should not refer to historical events in a detailed way, only to general 'themes'. The specific task aimed at locating possible students' framework for their national history. If Greek students hold a recognizable framework for Greek history, do they also use it to make sense of history in general? Do specific historical contents taught as national narratives create 'metahistory' as well (Lee, 2002 and Seixas, 1993a)?

[1] -What sort of changes do you think might affect our lives most in the next thirty years?
-Why would you think that the specific changes might be considered as the most probable?

- The 'set' concept

Tasks complemented each other: the 'preservation task' was expected to produce constructs similar to the 'national narrative' one, while the 'national narrative' task might give a rationale for choices made in the first (the three different problems) and the 'change' task. Students' reference to "changes which produce discontinuities" ought to be congruent with students' notion of change to the extent that the latter will come up in the 'change' task.

3.2. METHODOLOGY OF THE ANALYSIS

3.2.1 Coding procedure

- Type of text analysis

The analysis that follows is based on twenty interview transcripts. This analysis maps and categorises students' responses in relation to the phenomenon under description: students' relationship with the past. The categories that emerged and their relationships describe the ways and the conditions under which students referred to the past. A general pattern of how students' thoughts develop in specific circumstances in relation to the past will thus be generated and this pattern will be "grounded" in the data (students' responses). Thus, the design of this research and the type of data analysis employed follows to a high degree the tradition of grounded theory (Robson, 2002: 190-191).

- Assumptions about the nature of the data — Unit of analysis

The data, students' responses, is not the "unit of analysis per se" (Corbin and Strauss, 1990: 7) since the categories that emerge will also include my understanding of students' constructs about the past: "the goal is to *reconstruct* the categories used by subjects to conceptualize their own experiences and world view" (Goetz and Le Compte in Lincoln and Guba, 1985: 334). However, Lee, Ashby and Dickinson also speak about a "double constructivism" that is actually taking place when the researcher attempts to map students' understandings in relation to certain problems (Lee, Ashby and Dickinson, 1993: 5). In other words, categories are not allocated to

"previously defined units" or units "readily visible to other external observers[1]", as in 'classic' content analysis (Titscher, Wodak and Vetter, 2000: 56) rather they are produced from my interpretations of the students' responses. The latter interpretations can either be considered as my *reconstruction* of students' understandings or my *constructs* that are based on students' constructs.

Thus, the categories have been inductively produced from the data and were not set up before the data collection (Titscher, Wodak and Vetter, 2000: 67). This analytical approach was adopted because of the qualitative-ethnographic and exploratory character of this research. The categories either describe, and sometimes repeat, students' answers, or constitute explanations of students' answers; the latter indicates a process of analysis similar to that involved in grounded theory. Glaser and Strauss also speak about two types of categories that "emerge" in analysis: the "analyst's categories[2]" and the respondent's categories which are "concepts abstracted from the substantive situation" (Glaser and Strauss, 1967: 107).

The understanding of students' constructs underlying this study draws on the work of Rüsen (Rüsen, 1993), Lowenthal (Lowenthal, 1985), Hobsbawm (Hobsbawm: 1972), Oakeshott (Oakeshott, 1983), Seixas (Seixas and Clark 2001) and others. While Rüsen produces a complete typology of the historical consciousness calling for it to be grounded in empirical work the rest of the scholars above discuss different uses of the past. Thus, the research categories in this study are a product of the 'interaction' between the researcher's readings and the data. Glaser and Strauss speak about the theory "existing within the sociologist (researcher)" and the theory "emerging" from the data (Glaser and Strauss, 1967: 46). The new theory might include elements of old theories that the analyst was aware of before the research, so long as these 'old' theories are found to be "relevant" and "fit" the theory that has emerged.

These categories have also been developed "based both on the data and also on contextual knowledge" available at the time of the analysis (Strauss in Titscher, Wodak and Vetter, 2000: 79). Examples of this contextual knowledge would be an

[1] Lincoln and Guba, 1985: 334 and Goetz and Le Compte in Lincoln and Guba, 1985: 334.

[2] For example the 'Past as evidence' category is my explanation of how students used the recent past in relation to their voting criteria, while the '(past dismissed) because things/conditions today are different' category constitutes students' actual wording.

understanding of the conditions in which the research took place and an awareness of the cultural context in which history functions both inside and outside school, since the study was conducted in the researcher's own country. Examples of units of analysis can be found in Appendix B.

3.2.2. The analysis process: the constant comparative process and sampling issues

The data collection and the analysis were both conducted according to the principles of 'grounded theory'. Therefore 'representativeness' in relation to the sample was not sought. An effort was made instead to ensure a 'representation of concepts' (Strauss and Corbin, 1998: 214). An endeavour to meet the goal of "representation of concepts" was made in two ways. First, the sample included both schools whose students were from a variety of socio-economic backgrounds and students who represented a range of academic abilities in order to ensure a variety of participants.

Second, the analysis of the data began after the first interviews in an informal, rather than a systematic, way (prior to transcribing). Patterns from the students' answers in the first interviews informed the conduct of the next interviews. Not in the sense that the questions changed (there were semi-structured interviews) but the follow-up of certain answers was different (wherever the same patterns reappeared). In this way my understanding of the 'concepts' identified in the first interviews developed throughout the next interviews in a way that the ultimate 'picture' of the phenomenon, as discerned at that moment, was clearer if not complete.

The fact that understanding of the data and stance towards the phenomenon changed throughout the analysis of the interviews made it possible to engage in a process similar to that described as "theoretical sampling" (Glaser and Strauss, 1967: 45-79). Theoretical sampling involves collecting data in several phases where the analysis is continuous. Each phase of the analysis informs the next data collection phase. This process was followed exactly as described above between the pilots and the main data collection: students' answers from these pilots indicated the use of certain tasks for my main data collection.

On the whole the findings from the analysis of the pilots did not indicate that the sample of research participants needed to change; rather it led to the formation of new research questions and tasks.

In the end I had a very clear idea of what concepts were at play (for example 'identity') and how they should be obtained (what kinds of questions I would ask). A similar process was followed in the analysis of the main research data: when systematic analysing started (reading transcripts) the 'coding', the allocation of responses to certain categories, was almost concluded during the first five interviews. 'Concluded' in the sense that most of the categories that will be presented here had already appeared in the first five interviews. The coding of the rest of the interviews was inevitably informed by the initial coding. This is an effect that cannot be easily avoided because of the "sequential nature" of this type of research (Smith, Jarman and Osborn, 1999: 230[1]) in relation both to the data collection and the analysis. Despite the fact that the data collection took place almost within three weeks and that at times two groups were interviewed a day, the way in which the interviews were conducted continued to develop.

The coding stages of a grounded theory research approach as described by Glaser and Strauss (Glaser and Strauss, 1967: 101-115) were also followed: "comparing incidents applicable to each category", "integrating categories and their properties" "delimiting the theory". These three "constant comparison" phases correspond to three different types of coding: "open", "axial" and "selective" coding (Corbin and Strauss, 1990: 12-16 or Strauss and Corbin, 1998: 101-163). In the first phase of comparison one tries to establish categories in a way that will lead to more "rule orientated" categories further on in the research process (Lincoln and Guba, 1985: 342). In the second phase "new incidents", students' excerpts in the case of this research, are being 'compared' to the old categories; if they do not fit *subcategories* are created. Categories and subcategories can form clusters of categories and in this way the point of *axial coding* has been reached. Each cluster ought to describe a different parameter/dimension of the phenomenon under description. Figure 3.5.

[1] Smith, Jarman and Osborn referred to Interpretative Phenomenological Analysis (Smith, Jarman and Osborn, 1999: 230) but I think that their remark about the "sequential nature" of the research equally applies to Grounded Theory.

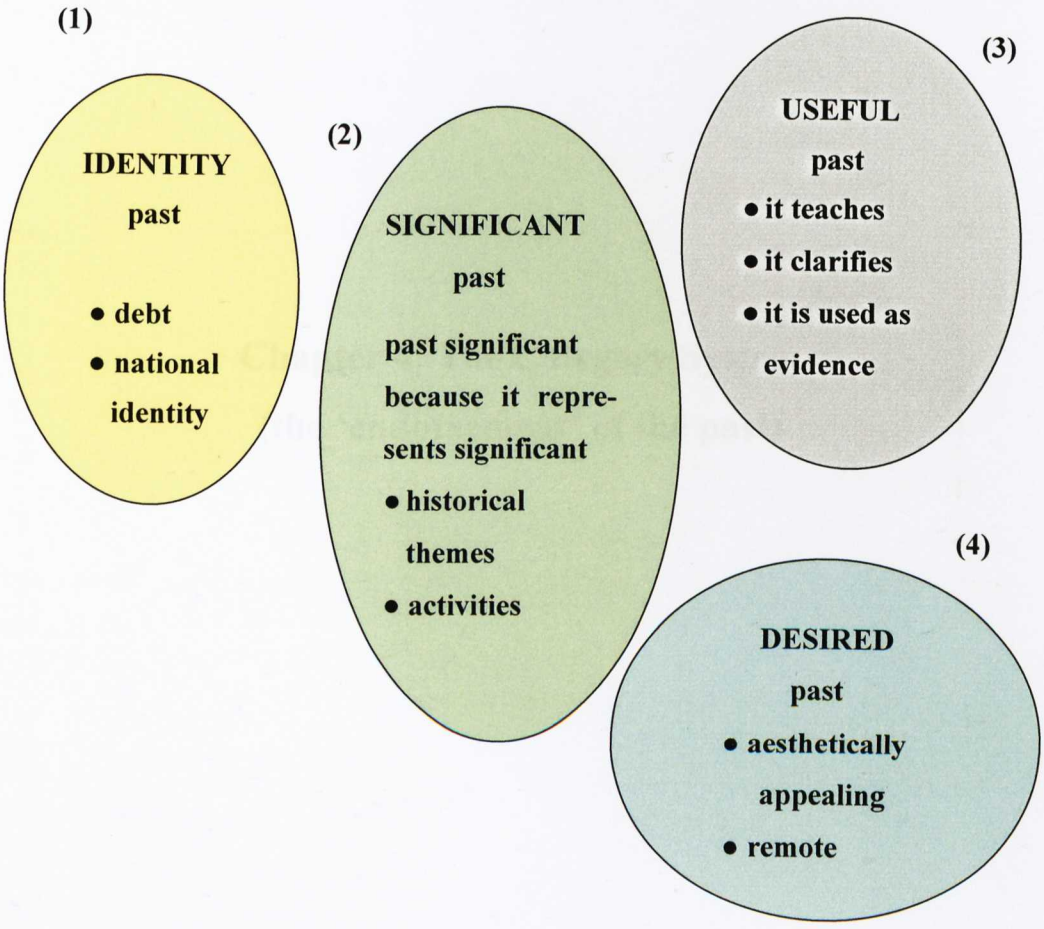
below, displays the four final different clusters: the clusters that could constitute the *axial coding* are the IDENTITY, SIGNIFICANCE, ATTRACTIVENESS and USEFULNESS groups of categories. The IDENTITY category could be the "core" category within the "selective" coding[1]context because the latter is implicit also in the SIGNIFICANCE and ATTRACTIVENESS clusters: students seemed to have found significant or 'like', past items that they were familiar with or that they were thought to be precious in the students' country. Another underlying 'idea' that refers to the four clusters (the USEFULNESS cluster included) is *familiarity*: both the recent/useful past and the cultural or identity past, are the pasts students are familiar with.

3.2.3. Theoretical framework of the analysis, the description of a process

The students' thoughts were analysed from a 'socio cultural' point of view: an effort was made to put students' learning in 'context': first, the educational context in which they learn (the Greek educational system, the books they use at school); second, the context of this research (different tasks and ways of asking questions and also the research setting). On the whole, students' thoughts are studied as 'situated' in specific ways. The research data does not indicate that there are consistent 'cognitive types'. In other words, students are not insisting on certain 'cognitive moves': quite the opposite, the data indicates a picture of change as students move from one exercise to the other. This characteristic (focussing on students in a process of change) is also in accordance with the rationale of grounded theory. As Strauss and Corbin remark, grounded theory is concerned with both "structures" and "processes" (Strauss and Corbin, 1998: 127). The "structure" here is represented by the research context (tasks) and the process is the students' performance.

[1] As the "selective coding" is described by Corbin and Strauss (1990: 14).

Figure 3.4. The four clusters describing students' relationship to the past.



Chapter 4: The Category System
(the 'endorsement' of the past)

Figure 4.1. The category system.

Endorsement of the Past

A) Past is relevant to our identity

A1. **as part of our identity**

A1a. past as 'debt'

A1b. past that defines us as a people (national identity)

A1c. (the material past) that asserts or materializes our national identity

A1d. past as ideology

A2 **as 'personal'/part of our experiences**

A2a. as personal/part of our experiences

A2b. (the material past) that asserts, materialises and intensifies 'lived' experience

A3. **as a condition of the present** (the "encapsulated" past)

B) Past is relevant to our present problems

B1. **past that teaches/history that teaches** (exemplary use of the past/recent past)

B2. **past that clarifies circumstances**

B3. **past as evidence (the recent past)**

C) The significant past

(the material past) which represents significant historical themes, past activities & past civilizations

D) The desired past

D1. **past aesthetically appealing**

D2. **the remote past** (offers the experience of 'remoteness')

D2a. as old

D2b. past items that are rare

D2c. (the material past) that asserts or materializes 'not experienced' events

D2d. past as different and good to know, the appreciation of the past on its own terms (the "historical" past)

4.1. INTRODUCTION

4.1.1. The students' past is a 'practical' past, while students' relationship to their past has been a process of change

The main issue explored in this study is: to what extent and under what circumstances do students refer to the past while addressing a current problem? The analysis of the data indicated that students did not hold a consistent stance towards the past and they made shifts according to the research circumstances. They actually seem to have continuously been in search of a familiar and 'usable' past. The latter notions were expressed by students in terms of a past 'relevant' or 'not relevant' to their problems, while the past seems to have been 'relevant' in two cases: first, when students felt that the past described who they are; second, when the past seems to be useful for students' more practical problems. 'Identity' problems are also considered as 'practical' problems by Rüsen, Oakeshott and Lowenthal[1]. They all emphasized the difference between a 'practical' and a 'historical' past. A 'historical' past is the product of historical thinking and as Rüsen explained it may be that: "the work of historians is influenced by and related to *practical life* on the one hand ..." but "... it has its own realm for gaining knowledge beyond the *practical purposes* of life orientation on the other" (Rüsen, 2005:134-135, my emphasis).

The reason why I consider problems other than 'identity' problems as 'more practical' is because students expressed themselves differently in those cases. Their tenor was more emotional when they referred to their 'national identity' (category A1b) or to their 'personal' experience of the past (category A2) than when they actually *used* the past (categories B1, B2, B3[2]). They actually adopted different kinds

[1] I referred to Rüsen, Oakeshott and Lowenthal because they emphasized differences between the 'practical' and the 'historical' past. Rüsen created his "Schema of historical thinking" (matrix, Rüsen, 2005: 133) where he distinguished between history's "cognitive" strategies in contrast to memory's "political" strategies. Oakeshott used emphatically the terms "practical" and "historical" (Oakeshott, 1983) for two different kinds of past. Lowenthal distinguished the "heritage" practical past in contrast to the 'historical past' (Lowenthal, 1998).

[2] (category B1): 'past that teaches'.
(category B2): 'past that clarifies situations'.
(category B3): 'past as evidence'.

of past: their identity past was a remote past while their 'practical' past was a recent past.

Students also opted for the 'aesthetically appealing' (category D1) and 'remote' (category D2) past. The latter two different types of past can also be considered as 'practical' pasts. When one adores a past item finding it 'beautiful', this might suggest a particular aesthetic that is indicative of one's époque. Bartlett based his analysis on the extent to which the individuals' sociocultural context influenced their perceiving, thinking and remembering[1] (Bartlett, ed. 1995: 255). Students endorsed the preservation of certain past items or monuments[2] while they were indifferent towards others: they changed their stance towards the past according to the circumstances of the research (different past items) and according to their culture. The socio-historical context in which they grew up and studied (Greek society) seems to have "directed" (Bartlett, ed. 1995: 255) them towards certain selections.

4.1.2. Students changed their stance towards the past responding to changing circumstances and functioning within their own sociocultural context.

In many of the tasks students opted for elements of their national past. The latter along with the research instruments (tasks and types of questions) seemed to have set the framework within which students created their own 'language'. Wertsch used the terms "cultural tools" and "agents" (Wertsch, 2000: 40) to describe respectively the socio-economic context within which individuals are supposed to function and the individuals themselves.

Wertsch also spoke about the "tension" that exists between the cultural context and the agents using Bakhtin's description of the language system (Wertsch, 2002: 15): the language system functions as a framework for speakers but speakers make unique

[1] Bartlett actually referred to the "setting of interest, excitement and emotion" that is provided by the social group the individual belongs to and that "settles what the individual will observe in his environment" (Bartlett, ed. 1995: 255).

[2] In the preservation task students had to select between: 1) A 5th century BC temple, 2) A neoclassical building of the 19th century, 3) A traditional manufacture unit of the 19th century, a 'watermill', 4) A prison for political prisoners, 5) A Byzantine church, 6) The house of a very important Greek modern poet.

uses of the language system. As a result of their particular choices and justifications, students produced or created, a certain 'text': in this text one can discern the structure of the 'language', or of the system, in which students grew up. One can also discern students' own choices within a certain system. One can discern 'repeatable' patterns in students' thoughts but also individual differentiations.

The most common attitude among the students in this research was the inconsistency of their stance towards the past. Students' 'stance' towards the past was "situated" (Salomon and Perkins, 1998) by the context of the tasks and changed according to this context.

Individual predispositions were also expressed in the data: there were students with a strong disposition to endorse the past and others who on the whole dismissed the past; the important thing is that even the most consistent students were affected by the change of tasks.

4.2. THE RELEVANT PAST/THE PAST RELEVANT TO 'us'

The relevant to 'us' and at the same time 'personal' past was expressed by three different categories: the 'past as a part of our (national) identity', the 'past as a part of our experiences (personal use of the past)' and the 'past as a condition of the present (the "encapsulated" past")'categories. The latter category (the "encapsulated" past) according to Oakeshott, might refer to residues of all that has ever happened to us; these residues might indeed indicate "what we now are" (Oakeshott, 1983: 14). In a way, each of these three categories describes or explains what students are and this is the reason why they were clustered together.

4.2.1. The past as part of 'our' identity

Along with the 'past that teaches' (B1), the 'past as identity' pattern (A) was one of the commonest among the students' responses. It is not surprising that an 'identity' pattern would come up together with a past reference since identity is so interconnected with self awareness, the sense of one's continuity, either on a personal or a group level. As time passes, "the subjects become aware of themselves as time" (Rüsen, 1993: 5). Memories as repositories of the past are a prerequisite for the formation of identity.

According to Rüsen (Rüsen, 1993: 5) identity is the outcome of a narration process, a process that brings together past, present and future and creates continuity out of these three time entities. When the students in this research faced a current everyday life problem they either did or did not resort to the past. However, when they dismissed the past they cited differences between past and present and when they endorsed the past they searched for 'practical' pasts that would inform their future actions. A particularly 'handy' past was the 'cultural' past.

'Culture' has often been referred to by Greek students. One can meet the same emphasis on culture in the traditional historiography of Greek history which legitimizes the existence of the Greek nation-state on the grounds of culture; a culture that forms a continuum between the past and the present. Such a cultural continuum also establishes the continuum of the Greek people and is the reason why an historic monument or the past itself has to be preserved as a cultural item. Furthermore, a cultural item for the Greek students seems to constitute a part of themselves and of the Greek people. The past for students is perceived either as 'culture' or 'cultural heritage' and the cultural heritage establishes their identity.

- Past as 'debt'

This pattern attributes to past a constraining function, students act in accordance with the past of their country, family or friends. Students connect to the rest of the people through this past and they feel that they are what they are because of others. In that sense there is a moral obligation for them to continue in the same way. Indicators include "we have to...", "no one has the right", "I feel the ***obligation***", "we have to continue", "other people sacrificed for us to be free", "they gave their lives" (the ancestors), "people in the ancient years put so much effort to create these" (about the Elgin' marbles), "they suffered so much" (the ancestors again). There are strong links between students and their ancestors. Students appreciate the legacy they have inherited and, as a consequence, feel that they must offer something back.

> Question: Would any knowledge of the past be useful concerning the problem of the Elgin marbles?

> Kyriaki (1203)[1]: ... concerning the marbles issue, history is of the utmost significance, because if we think of the past and if we remember the battles that have taken place, we just cannot avoid thinking that so many Greeks were lost, so many of them have fought for history, for Greece, ***and because of gratitude towards them,*** we have to bring them back (she means the Elgin marbles)[2].
>
> Question: If you woke up one morning and you bore no knowledge at all of the past, what would happen?
> Eleanna (1203): ... if we didn't know what happened yesterday, our life would bear no meaning at all ... What presses us and makes us think of our life is 'yesterday', ***some people did things for us, don't we have to do things for the next ones?*** (she means the next generations).

She continues along the same lines mainly referring to her parents and concludes:

> I believe that this is what makes you see the future; our past is also our future.

There are similarities between what the students expressed as the 'past as debt' category and certain aspects of Rüsen's "traditional" type of historical consciousness. According to Seixas, Rüsen's "traditional" type of historical consciousness ought to correspond to a "pre-historiographic" period (Seixas, 2004: 23) of western society or even to an ahistorical period; actually historiography began as a means through which to account for the great differences between past and present (Iggers, 1982: 46 and Lowenthal, 1985: xvi).

In this ahistorical society the concept of tradition was conceived in a static way, and thus was seen to be sacred. In this era there were strong community bonds among

[1] The numbers in brackets in students' excerpts refer to my codification of the data.

[2] I use ( ) in cases in which I explain students' excerpts and in which I give the Greek original text. I use [ ] in cases where I 'complete' students' phrases to produce a text that would be better understood.

people and many "cultural patterns" were perceived as obligatory (Rüsen, 1993: 71). It is exactly this emphasis given by members of traditional societies on their collective identity that bears similarities to the students' thinking in this study.

Several excerpts in categories (A1a) 'past as debt' suggest that students feel an obligation towards certain groups of people. The 'obligation' construct was generally located in three cases: first in Eleanna's[1] answer to the question 'if something happened and all the past knowledge, apart from what happened yesterday, was lost, what would you do?' In her answer Eleanna used very emotional language, expressing a strong bond with her family's past: "... some people did things ***for us***..."

Second, there were excerpts referring to the prison option from the preservation task where students emphasized their desire to express gratitude to the people who had made sacrifices for them:

> Ioulia (2402a): Some people sacrificed their lives for us to be free ... we cannot ignore them ... [by pulling down the prison].

Third, through the 'debt' pattern in the Elgin marbles' task, students articulated their desire to continue their ancestors' efforts to bring the marbles back: their ancestors had created the marbles that comprised the students' inheritance, other ancestors had fought for them in several wars of independence and still others had fought to bring the marbles back from England.

There is 'didactism' on the part of the students in all the above excerpts: there is didactism in the sense that students echo their parents and teachers, especially where they refer to sacrifices or to the "message" the prison bears[2]. 'Ancestors' sacrifices' is also a theme of the traditional Greek narrative: generations of Greek people (preceding the students) resisted invaders (Avdela, 2000 and Frangoudaki and Dragonas, 1997). As Lowenthal remarked, "collective heritage remains ancestor ridden" (1998: 58) and that equally applies to the Greek case. Greece seems to owe

[1] Eleanna (1203).

[2] Dimitris (0203a).

her existence to the struggles and the resistance of the 'ancestors' and Greek students seem to be indebted to them and to the past in general.

Half of the 'debt' excerpts came from the preservation task, the prison option. Despite the fact that the 'prison' period is not emphasized by the official national narrative[1], the latter narrative emphasizes the notion of a country that is always fighting for the freedom of the people; this notion of the Greek people fighting for their freedom appeared in students' speech and probably included resistance to Dictatorship.

- Past that defines us as a people (national narrative)

This category is distinguished from the next one only in the sense that in (A1c), '(the material past) that asserts or materializes our national identity', students identified themselves with certain monuments which were considered to be indicative of the national narrative. Here it is the narrative itself that students identify with:

> Question: Would the knowledge of the Greek political history of the 19th century be useful in case you had to choose political party?
> Amalia (1203): ... nothing begins on its own, all things have a starting point, this is why we must never forget our roots, where we came from and ***who we are ...***

Historical narratives are supposed to establish an identity, one that equally comprises "authors and listeners" (Rüsen, 2005: 11). Students in this research functioned as Rüsen's "listeners" or as Wertsch's "agents" who performed within a certain sociocultural context (Wertsch, 2000: 40). The latter context was demarcated by the Greek traditional historiography, the Greek national narrative: "It is a textual world through which people develop a new sense of self and collective identity and relate to each other..." (Giroux in Wertsch, 1998: 25).The "text" that students seemed to have made use of was the traditional historiography of their country. Amanda's confident use of "we" and "our roots" indicates that the appropriation of the specific "text" was successful: there is a clear sense of continuity between 'then' (the 19th

[1] The 'traditional' national narrative in Greece focuses on the ancient years of Greek history

century) and 'now'. There is a sense of development too: "our ***roots***", but "who we ***are***". Amanda also seems to be aware of history's narrative function (Rüsen, 2005: 148) which is to bridge the space between past and present. History helped her to make sense of 'who she is' and the past became a part of her identity.

- (The material past) that asserts or materializes our national identity.

Students concluded with the 'past that materializes our national identity' (A1c) construct when they commented on a variety of past choices for preservation (buildings or monuments). They articulated constructs within the (A1c) category, when they answered the preservation task and especially in relation to the 'ancient 5th century BC temple', the 'Byzantine church', the 'poet's house' and the 'prison'. Among the patterns originating in the preservation task were those provoked by the 'Elgin' marbles' task. The distribution of students' responses among the specific past items is indicative of students' "interests", in the sense that Bartlett uses the term. Interests, according to Bartlett, constitute "a development of individual mental life and may decide what it is that a person remembers ... interests themselves very often have a direct social origin" (Bartlett, ed. 1995: 256). In this research students' reactions constitute a matter of "recall" only in an indirect way: their culture and 'official' memories seem to guide their selections of items to be preserved in relation to historical significance and there seem to be marked preferences for the preservation of certain items. For example, the majority of the students identified with the ancient or classical past (Elgin marbles and the 5th century BC temple). Some students identified with the Byzantine church justifying their option in various ways, while only two of them opted for the prison. Only two students opted for the neoclassical building of the 19th century and one student opted for the watermill.

Notes about the process of counting

When reference is made, in the table below, to the *total* number of students, it is the number of students that produced the 'past that materialises our national identity' construct and not the total number of students whose interviews were transcribed (sixty students were interviewed).The 'past that materialises our national identity' construct was used eighty-five times because many students used the same construct for different past items: there were students that used the construct more than once.

Table 4.1. 'Past that materialises our national identity'.

PAST ITEMS	No.: 85	JUSTIFICATION
Elgin, temple of the 5th BC century	61	1) "they are our cultural heritage" 2) "they show when our history began" 3) "they show what an old people we are" 4) "they are ours because we made them" (for the Elgin marbles)
Byzantine church	7	1) "it is a sample of an 'acme' period of our country" 2) "church (the institution) contributed to the unity of the nation" 3) "it shows how very Christian we are"
Prison, German Occupation and Dictatorship era	2	"it is a part of our history"
Neoclassical of the 19th century	2	1) "because the 19th century is important for Greece" 2) "part of our history"
Watermill of the 19th century	1	"it represents the way of life of our ancestors"
Poet's house	12	1) "he expresses us" 2) "he contributed to [the development] of our nation" 3) "he is important for us"

One can easily make the following observations. First, the students in this research identified their 'national identity' with their culture, this is the reason why the 'past that materializes our national identity' (A1c) construct was produced by the Elgin marbles task and the preservation task. Second, the students of this research opted mostly for the ancient classical past, an outcome that was anticipated due to the results of the pilots conducted in Athens in 2003. Students' options are corroborated by all the historical and ethnographic analyses that have interrogated the central role played by the legacy of ancient Greece in the formation of the Greek national narrative. Third, students expressed preference also for the poet's house and the Byzantine church.

As for the poet's house one ought to take into consideration that 'national identity' is formed equally by the official historiography and the literature of one's country. A country's or a people's literature can be as 'national' as a people's past. In Greece there are officially two 'national' poets, Solomos, D. (he composed the national anthem) and Palamas, C. 'National' poets are 'constructed' in much the same way as other elements of a national identity. The process of the 'construction' of one of our national poets, Solomos, was described by Veloudis (2005) in his recent book. Veloudis exhibited the 'urgency' of the whole enterprise as the young Greek nation-state needed a national literature as much as a national language or a national history. Luckily Solomos used the most popular version of the Greek language of the 19th century, 'Demotic - Δημοτική', in his poetry and this seem to have contributed to his nomination as 'national poet'. Despite the fact that the 'poet' in the relevant task was not specifically called 'national'[1]students justified their answers as if he were a national poet.

> Task: preservation task, she speaks about the poet's house and the ancient temple of the 5th century BC:
> Kyriaki (1203): ... first the poet's house because he is directly ***connected to our history,*** only a poet can express what we have been through and what we have achieved. I have also selected the temple of the 5th century because it is an inseparable piece ***of our history.***

[1] The task phrasing was: 'the house of a very important Greek modern poet'.

As for the Byzantine church, students seemed to connect it more with their nation than with religion. The church is selected as a constituent of the Greek identity:

> Anna (3003): I choose as second the Byzantine church because it was then that the Christian religion first[1]appeared, and it was then that many people began to believe and we must not forget that ***religion has often been a factor of the nation's unity and that it helped us many times*** (politically, she means).

As Gazi (2004) revealed in her book about the three Hierarchs[2], throughout the history of the Greek nation, from the Roman Empire or early Byzantine Empire (4th century) to the Byzantine Empire (11th century) and the 19th century there has always been a need to forge two different identities, that of ancient Greek philosophy and Christianity. The final act of this very long process was that in the 19th century, the three Hierarchs (Grigorios, Vasileios and Ioannis), known to have a profound knowledge of ancient Greek philosophy, were nominated as saints-protectors of education. Since then the schools close every 30th of January which is their official celebration day.

Apart from the fact that schools (civic and political institutions) close to celebrate a religious feast day, Greek flag-day is also a religious day. Moreover, Anna's comment about the contribution of the church to the nation could simply echo the long tradition in historiography (and school history of the past) that underlines the contribution of the Greek Orthodox Church to the Greek liberation war of 1821 and to the preservation of Greek identity throughout the Ottoman years. This tradition

[1] See category (C) where certain époques are endorsed by students: the beginning of any phenomenon, process, institution, seems to be appealing to students.

[2] 'The three Hierarchs': prelates and saints of the Orthodox Church who were nominated as 'protectors' of education. They themselves read much of the ancient Greek philosophy trying to reconcile it with the new (Christian) dogma. This is the reason why they urged people to read Greek philosophy selectively.

spawned certain myths that had been created during the Ottoman period, myths that were recently exposed as such by other historiographic works[1].

On the whole there is a certain conflation of identities in Greece and this conflation appeared in students' remarks.

> Lambros, preservation task (1703b): I opt for the 5th century temple because ***it shows Greece's history*** while a neoclassical building is only a building
>
> and
>
> Anastasia, preservation task (2602a): A 5th century temple ***shows our past.***

The students who participated in this research, in the preservation task which functioned as a significance exercise may have opted for their cultural past because the cultural past is the most familiar to them. Ancient legacy, literature and religion constitute elements of students' cultural world.

- Conclusion on 'national identity'

To sum up, students who participated in this research seemed to understand the past mostly in terms of 'national identity' (categories A1a-A1c). Students also referred to identity explicitly, "who we are", or by using expressions such as "heritage", "ancestors", "our cultural heritage". Students expressed themselves in terms of a common national past and a common national culture in the preservation task and the Elgin marbles task.

In the preservation task, students opted mostly for the 5th century temple and the Byzantine church considering them to be parts of their national and cultural identity. In the Elgin marbles' task the situation appeared to be more complex.

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[1] Angelou, A. (1997): '*Krypha Skholeia (secret schools)*', *The Chronicle of a Myth,* Athens: Estia. Lowenthal also in his book "The Heritage Crusades and the Spoils of History" (Lowenthal, 1998: 131) referred to the construction of the 'secret schools' myth in the Ottoman Occupation period in Greece.

Figure 4.2. Elgin marbles' task & the expression of identity.

Questions	**Identity rationale**
a. Do you think that Greece should insist on the marbles' return to Greece? yes/no because ... **identity atemporal**[1] **identity & implicit**[2] **or not named**[3] **past** **identity & explicit past**	**Identity as an 'ownership' rationale** - Identity atemporal. - Identity & 'implicit' reference to history: students used words that refer to 'origin' and indicate temporality like "culture" or "heritage". - Identity & explicit reference to history and especially to the 5th century BC.
b. What would you need to know in order to make up your mind? **no past (atemporal) and no identity** **or** **explicit past but not always identity**	**Identity as an 'inquiring' rationale,** - Need to know conditions of transfer … etc. (atemporal and no identity). - Need to know the 'facts of the 19th century': what really happened (an 'inquiring' rationale, category B2, 'past that clarifies …'). - Reference to 5th cent BC and to the 1974 onwards period (identity).
c. Would the knowledge of the past help you in your decision? **explicit past** **& identity**	**Identity based on history** Students referred mostly to the 19th cent., but not exclusively; they referred to more than one period of time.

[1] **'Atemporal':** expression of an 'identity & ownership' rationale with no justification and connection to the past, "the marbles ought to return to Greece *because they belong to us*", Vasilis (1003).

[2] **'Implicit'** past: students might be referring to the past not consciously.

[3] **'Not named' past:** students might be referring to the past without using the word 'past'.

Figure 4.2 indicates a strong identity which was provoked by the Elgin marbles' task. The Elgin marbles event constitutes a past event (the marbles, which were created in the 5th century BC, were abducted by Elgin in 1801) which bears consequences for the present (Greece has been officially calling for their return since 1974).

In the indirect[1] approach students referred to the past adopting an 'inquiring' and not an exclusively 'identity' rationale[2]; it is possible that they were influenced by the presentation of the task: the task referred to an Ottoman directive that granted permission to Elgin to detach pieces of the monument. In the direct approach students produced 'past-identity' constructs. Though the most 'emotional' and 'strong' identity constructs were produced in the first question: 'do you think that Greece should insist on the marbles' return to Greece?'

There are two more constructs that appeared in this study as responses to the Elgin' marbles task and especially to the question about the Elgin marbles' return to Greece. These constructs are supported by ethnographic work in the relationship of Greeks with their classical past. In the first construct students referring to the marbles articulated the expression "we've made them (we've made the marbles)"[3] as a justification for the marbles' return to Greece. Lowenthal (1998: 142) who refers to a similar Greek approach to monuments, sees it as an example of how "heritage purposes" and heritage practices[4] foster a present-past conflation like the above: there seems to be a complete identification of the Greek people with the ancient inhabitants of the city (Athens).

In the second construct a comparison took place between the abduction of the Elgin marbles from the temple to the mutilation of a body:

> Kyriaki (1203): I believe that if he (Elgin) only thought at that moment, if he thought that ***a part of his body was being***

[1] 'Indirect' approach is the way question -b- (Figure 4.2) is made; 'indirect' have been called the questions of this research where no explicit past reference is made by the interviewer.

[2] Category B2, 'past that clarifies circumstances' and not category A1c 'identity'.

[3] The "we've made them" construct appeared nineteen times and it was allocated to the (A1c) category, 'national identity'.

[4] Lowenthal cites Melina Merkouri who comments on the Greek school: according to Merkouri it is at the school where students learn that "*they* have made them" (Lowenthal 1998: 142).

> ***detached, an arm, a leg,*** if he only thought how would he have felt in that case, Greeks are feeling exactly the same, ***because a part of their history was detached.***

Similar constructs were articulated by Nicholas (0303) and Maria (2402b). Yalouri (2001: 63) in her exploration of the Greeks' relationship with their monuments also provides a similar expression of the Greek national identity through the Acropolis: the nation is materialized by the Acropolis, the latter has been mutilated; it is actually the nation itself that has been mutilated.

On the whole, not only did the students select the past depending on the content of the question; but students' answers were also 'situated' within their 'option'[1]: even in the Elgin marbles' task, a task expected to elicit an identity rationale, students produced various constructs depending on the questioning context: on the *types* of questions (direct/indirect[2]) and the *content* of the questions. Details regarding the circumstances under which the marbles were abducted 'disorientated' them and produced an 'inquiry' rationale.

- Rüsen's "traditional" type and identity issues, the 'debt' category

Students' thinking in relation to the Elgin marbles' task could be thought of as "traditional"[3] in the degree to which students perceived themselves to be restricted by their ancestors' past. In this case students perceived themselves as owing a 'debt' to their ancestors: students' ancestors "built" the marbles, "fought" for the marbles in the liberation war of 1821 and "demanded" them back after 1974. Accordingly many students felt they should imitate them. This is the reason why students made reference to three different time periods: the 5th century BC[4], the 19th century (Elgin's time) and the period after 1974; these three periods represented for them three different types of 'debt'. Other 'debt cases' were provoked by the 'prison' task.

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[1] Their option was to endorse the past when confronted with the Elgin marbles' task.

[2] 'Direct' are the questions in which a clear reference to the past is made: would the past be useful for you to decide about ...

[3] Rüsen's "traditional" type of historical thinking.

[4] "*We*' ve made them", Sonia (1703a).

In relation to the prison, students felt that they should continue their predecessors' struggles for liberty.

On the other hand, types of historical consciousness as they appear in this research are not consistent: the same students who articulated the constructs above, gave responses indicative of other types of historical consciousness later in the interview, including the "genetic" type; students were thinking while constantly responding and adjusting their answers to the tasks' content. One also ought to take into consideration Rüsen's cautionary remark that 'his' "... types appear in *complex admixtures*..." (Rüsen, 2005: 37, my emphasis). On the whole the specific students (the students included in the 'debt' category) presented a variety of constructs and ways of understanding the past. Additionally those students didn't choose the usual options in many of the tasks. Panos (0903) for example was the only one that said that the Elgin marbles ought to return to their place, the initial temple, and not that the marbles actually belong to the Greek people, a thought that could be called 'genetic'. Panos also expressed the 'debt' pattern in relation to the prison. Eleanna (1203) who articulated the "... I believe that this is what makes you see the future, our past is also our future" construct ('traditional' construct) in other questions and tasks developed interesting and complex ideas about 'change' in history.

The excerpts above can be classified as 'traditional' to the extent that they indicate a 'traditional relationship to the past'. A traditional relationship to the past functions in a constraining way in peoples' everyday life, while it implies 'commitment' to a certain collective identity[1]: commitment to a group usually stems from some past relationship or experience; collective memories create collective identities (Gillis, 1994: 3). People's relationships with the past are mediated through relationships with contemporaries with whom people share a common heritage. A sense of heritage can function in a very restrictive way exactly because it creates a sense of duty towards ancestors and contemporaries of the same group. Lowenthal described "heritage" as "our inescapable dependence on the past" (Lowenthal, ed. 1994: 42).

[1] Eleanna (1203) for example referred to her family past. The use of the Elgin marbles' task and the prison's task in the study represented the national past.

An inescapable past for the Greek students seems to be the past of their national narrative:

> Panagiotis (3003): I select as first the 5th century BC temple because it constitutes a specimen of our civilization, ***a civilization that had been the first to develop*** ...
>
> (Petros, 1703b): They [the marbles] show what an old people we are.
>
> Lambros (1703b): It shows that the Greeks ***were the first*** to start history; many civilizations were based on the Greek civilization ...

The excerpts above include elements of the Greek national narrative and especially the element of the 'uniqueness' of the Greek civilization. Students seem to believe that they have a privileged relationship with the past because of their country's history. Excerpts like the latter could also be thought as "traditional" (Rüsen, 1993) because they exhibit an identity constructed in "separation" from all possible other identities. There do not seem to be "cultural elements going across differences" (Rüsen, 2004a: 120) only cultural elements distinguishing the Greek people from the others.

Nevertheless, despite the fact that students in this research were found to have a sense of commitment to the ancestral past (not only in the 'debt' category but in all the other 'identity' categories) on the whole they displayed a 'changing' and 'dynamic' relationship to the past.

- Past as ideology

Students referred to "ideology" and they seem to perceive it as a continuity of "ideas", "values" and "principles". The latter persistence in time of ideas, values and principles, allowed the students to resort to the past in the case of the 'political vote' task. 'Past as ideology' was allocated to the 'identity' cluster of categories (A) because groups of characteristics (ideas, values, principles) like the ones students

talked about, can constitute identities; in the context of the political vote task these continuities of ideas could be political identities.

> Question: What would you need to know in order to select a political party?
> Stavros speaks about a party's history. When asked why the history of a certain party would be useful, he replies:
> Stavros (2502b): ***Knowing the history of a certain party we get to know its ideology***

> Question: How would the knowledge of the past help you in your decision [vote]?
> Eleanna (1203): Since a party is founded is based on ***certain principles,*** on an ***idea,*** on a ***perspective*** and the only changes that take place in a party correspond to the conditions and to what is going on in the party's 'environment', to the people, to the problems that are created etc.

Students connected 'ideology' with the past in twenty-four instances.[1] However, there were times when students referred to ideology without connecting it to the past; they referred to ideology considering it to be integral to their decision-making process and thus their vote. When students associated ideology with the past they saw ideology as an element of continuity between past and present, as an element of several parties' identities that does not change or does not change very easily. Students referred to ideology using the following indicators: "ideology", "political beliefs", "values", "principles". Also "people's ideas" and "conceptions", as in: "people of the same party are mostly having ***the same opinions or ideas***"[2]. Another student said about ideology: "what a party or a politician ***generally supports***" (Petros, 1703b).

[1] These twenty-four instances are the only ones constituting the category A1d-'past as ideology'.

[2] Panagiotis (1703). Question: would the knowledge of the past inform your vote?

4.2.2. Past as 'personal'/part of our experiences

- Past as personal/part of our experiences

The word 'personal' concerning the past could mean three things: a personal, 'intimate' past like the past Rosenweig's white Americans seemed to hold (Rosenweig, 2000). Alternatively it could mean a personal 'use' of the past or a personal experience of the past.

A 'personal' past would be the family past or events that refer to an individual's personal life, events that the individual could use to construct a personal narrative: a professional change, a parent's death, a child's birth. Events that, according to Rosenweig, are included in a "[narrative] answer to questions about [personal] identity, morality and mortality" (2000: 266)

In Rosenweig's article one also meets the personal use of public events or of events of broader historical significance (2000: 267): events like a war or a condition of political oppression may affect an individual's life and contribute to the formation of specific attitudes but not necessarily political attitudes. Gillis (1994: 14-16) also commented on the contemporary tendency of "ordinary people"[1] to focus more on family, local and personal memories and not so much on memories related to the nation: "the nation is no longer the site of frame of memory for most people" (Gillis, 1994: 17)[2].

Last, we have the personal experience of historical events in the way Halbwachs described it in his work *On Collective Memory*. Coser in his introduction to Halbwach's work spoke about the "... Halbwachian notion that crucial public events leave deep imprints in the minds of direct participants, especially when they are young people ..." (Coser in Halbwachs, 1992: 30). Halbwachs distinguished between "autobiographical" and "historical" memory considering the first to be the most

[1] Gillis means those who are not historians.

[2] Gillis also made reference to the anti-monument movement, which encourages the 'personal' and experienced in everyday life construction of memories in contrast to the 'acquisition' of fixed memories; the latter memories are usually transmitted in public and official sites of memory like monumental urban spaces and traditional museums.

intense. I think that when students from this research make reference to events that they have "lived"[1] or "experiences"[2] they have had or experiences they have not had, they mean something like the Halbwachian autobiographical memory. These students could also be included in Rosenweig's group of people that use public past events to construct personal narratives but the context of the interview discussion is political: students mentioned the factor of personal experience when they were asked how they would decide about voting for the parliament.

> Interviewer: So you are interested in the recent past, meaning in each party's four year service (θητεία)?
> Lena (1003): Yes, ***especially in what we have ourselves lived*** (she means 'experienced'). Because if you hear what the elders have lived, ***these people might misinterpret certain things*** and they might influence you.
>
> (later)
>
> Interviewer: In the end does the remote past play a role in your decision?
> Lena: We know certain things from the past, we wouldn't know what the parties of the 1950s or the 1960s did, whatever these [old] parties did, we just don't know, ***whatever we know about these parties we know from older people,*** relatives or from whatever we hear today about the past ... I would say that the right thing would be not to decide according to what we are told, but according to what took place ten or twenty years before, so that we don't go that far in the past ('τόσο πίσω') ... especially whoever is young, because ***we can see old people voting using criteria that they also had thirty years ago.***

[1] Lena (1003).

[2] Christina (0203b).

> Christina (0203b): I would also take under consideration and what my parents think, because ***at least they had had the experiences*** of other[1] parties as well.

There is a strong 'emancipation' idea in the two excerpts above: students seem to seek first hand experience in order to make their own political decisions. Experience seems to offer a more intense and authentic participation in historical events. Personal experience of historical events seems to lead to a feeling of "connectedness" to history (Rosenweig, 2000: 267) or a feeling of "personal relevance" to history (Shemilt, 1980: 21).

Students' way of thinking is also a historized way of thinking: students seem to be thinking that there are different groups of people with different experiences that ought to have different perspectives. The latter way of thinking is not traditional at all and it could even be unexpected. Greece is a country where family history is often a part of the broader history (national history or a party's history) and where the family's political attitudes are usually reproduced. The students of this research seem to interpret the family's political past as a constraint:

> Stavros (2502b): I believe that in the forthcoming years we will be in a position of ***knowing more things*** about politics, we will know which party expresses us the most, because apart from the past knowledge we will have also seen other things, ***things that we will have lived,*** because now many times we see things from the parents' perspective and the ***family perspective***

Thus, an emancipation tendency is exhibited in the students' claim for personal experience in the sense that they actually ask to participate in history and politics.

[1] Christina referred to the government in power at the time of the interviews (February - March of 2004). National elections were about to take place (March 2004). Students were possibly influenced by analysts that commented on the fact that the government of those days had been in power for almost twenty years (apart from the years 1990-1993). Nevertheless, the students of this research (being fifteen years old) had had the experience of one political party in power, whereas their parents had also known 'other' parties.

The lack of a personal and direct experience deprives them of the possibility of an active and self-reflexive involvement in these spheres.

From another point of view students' references to "misinterpretation" issues, "influences" (Lena) and to the need of 'knowing more things' (Stavros) suggest another reading: students might need to be present where everything seems to be happening not in order to participate in history, but in order to know more. Shemilt's (1987) and Lee's (Lee et al, 1995) work on evidence illuminates the data in a different way: students' perception of personal experience might be a perception of evidence about the past as "testimony". In other words students might use their personal experience as evidence about the past and especially as testimony about what happened in the past. In this case students use their personal experience only as more information about the past, valuable information, since they themselves have witnessed the events.

- (The material past) that asserts, materialises and intensifies 'lived' experience

There was a prolonged discussion in one of the groups[1] about whether monuments 'concretise' (Rihtman, Augustin, 2005: 180) a 'lived' experience or substitute for a 'missed' experience. In other words are monuments needed more by those who have lived the events, in order to have an intensified memory of the events, or by those who didn't witness the events? Are the monuments important because they form a part of people's lives (a lived experience) or because they commemorate and 'educate' people who are not aware of a certain history? There were only three excerpts in this category.

> Kostas (0903): There are things ***that cannot be described by words, it is one thing to live it***[2] and another thing to see it one hundred years later, from your point of view and while you are reading at ease, it is not the same sentiments, ***it is***

[1] (0903) between Kostas and Panos.

[2] Kostas means the prison by "it". It is the preservation exercise and students had to select which to preserve among the following six monuments: a 5th century BC temple, a neoclassical building of the 19th century, a traditional manufacture unit of the 19th century (a watermill), *a prison that has been used for political prisoners,* a Byzantine church and the house of an important Greek modern poet.

> ***impossible to describe by words the event that one has experienced*** ... you might have one hundred people there (in the prison) and they might have to endure the same things, [but in the end] you will identify different sentiments[1], and something else, young people today do not know history at all. They are not involved in politics either, if they see a monument, they are not interested.
>
> Panos: And for however long the person who had been in the prison (ex political prisoner) lives, the monument will remain at least for the rest of the people.

On the whole neither (A2a) (past as personal/part of our experiences) nor (A2b) (the material past that asserts, materializes and intensifies 'lived' experience) categories are densely represented in the sample. The reasons why these two categories were retained as part of the codification are: first, because there is theoretical (Halbwachs) and empirical work (Rosenweig) that advocates a personal past or a personal use of the past; second, the pilot study of September 2003 offered similar examples of the students' use of the past.

> Interviewer: The past (preservation of certain monuments) would be more important for whom?
> Valia (2209, pilot study): ***For those that had these 'viomata'[2] in the prisons,*** the others will learn, will feel some things, but they won't keep them because these people will not have been through the ***experience***.
> Interviewer: History is learnt differently if you have lived it...
> Valia: Because for us (who haven't lived the events) ***all these are only information,*** which perhaps we should know but if we didn't it wouldn't matter.

[1] Kostas probably means that the experience of each individual (political prisoner) is unique and that the monument concretises these experiences.

[2] 'Viomata': this Greek word has no precise parallel in English, it means 'experience' but in a stronger way, it would indicate an intensely lived experience.

The category 'personal past' (A2) represents a kind of identity like the previous cluster of identities (A1a-A1d). The 'personal past' can either be the autobiographical past or the personal experience of history. The events of our lives and the way we experience them constitute our identity: those events and the significance we attribute to them constitute the 'narrative' of our own life. There is an 'exchange' process between memories (students' past) and students' identity; as Gillis (1994: 3) put it: "... identity is sustained by remembering; and what is remembered is defined by the assumed identity". Students described themselves with the constructs they produced in categories (A1a- A1c) and (A2a-A2b).

4.2.3. Past as a condition of the present (the "encapsulated" past)

Constructs in this category appear in three different ways:

Past that exists because of its consequences in the present
Past perceived as a condition of communication.
Past as a condition of development

- Past that exists because of its consequences in the present

This is the past that causes things to happen in people's lives, a past that students come to perceive from its consequences in their life in the present:

> Interviewer: Would the knowledge of the past help you to decide about the construction of the road (whether the road should be constructed endangering the environment or not)?
> Aliki (1703b): I believe that the only connection that exists between the construction of the road and the past is the fact that we are able to see many works which are being constructed and at the same time an environment that has been destroyed. ***We see the results.***

The way students expressed themselves in this case seems to be similar to Oakeshott's definition of the past. Oakeshott explained that the past is only a 'construction' (1962: 146) that depends on people's attitudes in order to exist. If one takes the present as evidence for events that have already taken place then one refers

to the past. The latter could be a merely 'practical' attitude (Oakeshott, 1962: 147) connected to everyday life concerns. I believe that when the students above refer to the past they actually adopt this practical attitude since they establish the past's connectedness to their problems (the construction of the road). Of course the way the question was asked[1] contributed to students' practical attitude here. Nevertheless, the students' justification of the past's existence and 'connectedness' to their problems (Rosenweig, 2000: 267) remains similar to Oakeshott's definition of the past. Oakeshott posited that we realize the past from its presence in the present and we might choose to refer to this past either in a historical or in a practical way. The students' answers, of the kind described above, were all elicited by 'the three different issues (environment, vote, Elgin Marbles)' task.

In the same strand of answers, 'past that exists because of its consequences in the present' were also included all those references to the past that made present decisions appear dependent on past issues (for example, the answers from the 'vote' question). Amalia (1203) noted that in order to vote people *depend on* ideology and spoke about the *roots* of a party, Ioulia (2402a) explained that one decides *according to* what *has so far happened* and, finally, Kyriaki spoke about a *chain of events* in relation to Greece:

> Interviewer: But what is the connection between Deligiannis and Trikoupis (Greek politicians of the 19th century) and the situation as it is today (how we vote today)?
> Kyriaki (1203): ***I believe that history is a chain,*** that means it continues (she means it has continuity) if you lose a link, you might even miss ***the whole story...***"

Kyriaki's answer above is typical of responses enlisted as 'past as a condition of the present' thoughts and Kyriaki sees real or causal continuity between past and present because she describes the political phenomenon in Greece in development. The latter remark about the 'real or causal continuity' is made in relation to Shemilt's analysis of the student's notion of historical continuity. Shemilt analysed students' excerpts where it was apparent that students' continuity had been a 'mechanical' continuity

[1] Would the past 'help' you to decide about the construction of the road?

(1983: 7): students used the chain expression in a way that the historical events were thought of as being in a line but there was no causal relationship between them. It is possible though that Kyriaki's notion of continuity here is influenced by the Greek national narrative: the tone is emotional and though she refers to history, it is Greece that she has in mind.

Kostas (0903) also emphasized the dependence the future has on the past speaking, like Kyriaki, about Greece's political history, while Eleanna (1203) explained how a life with no reference to the past at all, would only be 'meaningless' because there would be no inspiration. Finally, Panos (0903) explained how every little detail in history is important in relation to the present:

> Panos: If the ancient Greeks did not exist things could have been a lot different here now. Even a detail[1] in the past affects a lot the way the present is shaped.

- The past perceived as a condition of communication.

The latter construct derived from the following task which was not given to the whole of the sample:

> "If you woke up one morning and you could remember nothing from the past, what would you do? or what would that mean for your life?"

The students, who understood the question as if they themselves were the only ones to experience the situation, saw loss of communication with the rest of the world as the main consequence:

> Petros (1703b): I couldn't live with the other people ... because I wouldn't know anything from the past and I wouldn't be able to express my opinion.

[1] The 'details' Panos is referring to are the Persian wars that were won by the Greeks in the 5th century BC. He is thinking of the possibility of a Persian victory instead of the Greek one. Panos could be considering alternative historical routes (Shemilt, 1983: 8).

Nadia, Lena and Vasilis (1003) also interpreted the loss of the past as a loss of communication.

• Past as a condition of development

Students who understood the question in terms of humanity as a whole losing its memory concluded that in this way history would have to stop and then start from the very beginning. Actually those students understood that people would lose control over time and memory because of such a disaster. What they really had in mind was development and, implicitly, that if history stopped and began once more it would be a history of progress and development once again.

> Kyriaki (1203): I believe that this would provoke radical changes and ***because there is a continuity as we have already said,*** in a way that if you forgot the beginning, where you have started, ***man would start from a new starting point*** ... if you forgot what had preceded ***you would start from the palaeolithic age*** ... if something happens and the time stops and the earth is destroyed, I don't know what is going to happen, ***we will lead ourselves to point zero.***

Similar ideas were found in other groups:

> Panagiota (0403): ... we would be obliged to make a new start.
>
> Lakis (0403): ... we would start from zero.
>
> Chrysa (0403): ... we would start from the beginning.

On the whole the 'past as a condition of the present' category (A3), despite the relatively few students' excerpts if compared to other categories,[1] displays a variety in patterns. The underlying idea among all these patterns is that the past is inescapable and from this point of view this category reminds us of Oakeshott's

[1] For example there were seventy excerpts included in the category (D2d) 'past as different and good to know', see Appendix C.

"encapsulated" past (1983: 14 -15). The 'encapsulated' past is the past that we bear with us either in a conscious way or not, it is our personal history. Everything and everyone ought to have developed through several past phases. All these phases seem to be the prerequisites and the constituents of one's present condition whether they are recognizable as such or not. Thus, the same idea that the present, to exist needs some past ('past as a condition of the present' category) is also present in Oakeshott's "encapsulated", inescapable past.

4.2.4. Conclusion on the 'past relevant to us'

On the whole, the categories (A1) past as part of our identity, (A2) past as 'personal'/part of our experiences and (A3) past as a condition of the present (the "encapsulated" past) represented past as students' identity. It is possible that the "encapsulated" past explained students' own development (personal identity) and created a framework for them to make sense of the past in general: the present condition or 'how things are' is, to a high degree, indebted to the past. All these categories connected past with students' present in a way that rendered the past intelligible.

4.3. THE RELEVANT PAST/RELEVANT AS 'USEFUL'

4.3.1. Past that teaches/history that teaches (exemplary use of the past/use of a recent past)

The title of the category is also the category's content. History is construed as "(historia) vitae magistra", it has a 'mission', and the mission of history is to teach. This is expressed by students in different ways:

Students refer to history as if it were a potential repository of "examples"[1]; these examples are supposed to be concrete exemplary events that will be used by students as a guide in life. Students also expect to extract from history "morals"[2] and ultimately it seems that all the students' efforts are focused on the avoidance of

[1] Alexis (0903).

[2] Angela (1703).

"mistakes". Mistakes are seen by students' as equal to past 'crimes' or 'sins' that are not supposed to be repeated[1].

> Question: Would the knowledge of the 19th century political history of Greece inform your vote?
> Angela (1703): The history we are learning at school has to be learnt by the children of our age because it is not a mere school lesson, it is a social lesson, ..., so as to say, history is a ***moral,*** this is the reason why we are learning it.

Possible indicators for this category are: "it teaches", "moral", "examples", "mistakes", "in order to avoid the same situations", "similar events", "similar cases". When students use the "similar cases or similar events" pattern the implicit idea is that they expect a complete repetition of the past situation in order to copy it or to avoid it. Thus, concrete past examples are sought to encourage or discourage them from certain strands of action. This latter past, the one to be copied or repeated, resembles Oakeshott's (1983: 16) "recollected" or "consulted" past, one of his "practical" pasts. As he emphasized, this is not a problematic past since it is 'tailored' to the practical needs of an individual or group. Provenance is not important in this case, it is the type of need that matters.

> Question: Would the knowledge of the past help in order to decide on the 'environment' issue?
> Eleni (0203a): Knowing the past we can build the future, ..., knowing some ***similar events*** in relation to the ***same*** past issues, the strategies we undertook, how effective all these strategies had been, and if it (a past action) really helped or whether we have regretted, we can act ***similarly*** now at present.

Sophia makes a similar point negatively:

> Question: Would the past be useful about whether to insist on the return of the Elgin marbles?

[1] Kyriaki (1203).

> Sophia (2402a): ... I cannot recall any ***similar events***, I cannot tell...

Another construct that was located within category (B1) 'past that teaches', is the one about the recent past. Students opted for the recent past since the recent past was considered as the most suitable to provide them with concrete examples of similar events and situations etc.

Finally another interesting construct was the 'repetition' construct; some students hoped to learn from the past because they profoundly believed that history is repeated:

> Question: In the end do you think that the past is related to the present?
> Anastasia (2602a): I believe that past helps us, and that in a way, we can predict what will happen in the future because, [life] ***is just a wheel, old époques will come again,*** not necessarily at the same levels (literal translation from Greek) but some ***similar*** things and this helps us to avoid bad, to ***avoid*** having bad actions ('ενέργειες') for our country, actions that will lead us again to ***wrong results*** ('λάθη'/results that proved to be mistakes) results that we wouldn't like.

- Rüsen's "exemplary" type

The main elements of Rüsen's "exemplary" type of historical consciousness were identified in this research: students who participated in the research seemed to conceive of the past as a depository of cases relevant to their present problems. The past conveys a 'message' for the younger generations (Rüsen, 1993: 72) and the latter message seems to be very much appreciated. In the end there was not even one word about 'change'[1] on the part of the students whenever they formed

[1] Students referred to "changes" between past and present whenever they articulated the 'things or conditions today are different' construct (B1 cat.). The latter construct developed mostly as a response to the 'vote' task and especially when the question focused in the use of the remote past. Whenever

'paradigmatic past' constructs. Implicitly students believed that past and present are alike, this is the reason why these history lessons are 'timeless'.

4.3.2. The past that clarifies circumstances

The past provides the necessary knowledge for us to act in the present. The 'past that clarifies circumstances' is a "practical" past (Oakeshott, 1983) because it is bound up with our present preoccupations. This type of past is used by the students whenever they need to know 'what really happened' in the past so as to decide about the present. This kind of inquiry has a judicial or legalistic quality and could be the reason why students tended to use a judicial and legalistic vocabulary. Expressions used by the students: "valid" (the Turkish permission), "not valid", "nobody has the right", "right", "we are entitled", "we base our claim on history or past", "the past is the argument", "it was not a legal government (the Turkish government)", "how they justify what they did". Actually, all the relevant excerpts were elicited by the Elgin' marbles' task.

While the question 'Do you think that Greece should insist on the marbles return to Greece' produced 'identity' constructs by the students, the question 'What would you need to know in order to make up your mind?' produced an 'inquiring' rationale on the part of the students. In the first case students claimed the marbles back on the grounds of *culture* and *heritage.* In the second case students were confused by the 'Ottoman permission' issue and wanted to know 'what really happened'.

> Interviewer: What would you need to know in order to make up your mind [about the Elgin' marbles]?
> Nikos (2702): I would like to know who gave them ... if the Greeks gave them then the English acted in ***a right way,*** if we made that mistake we cannot have them back, because it is like making a gift to them, but if the Ottomans gave them ... ***then we have the right*** to ask the marbles back, because ***they didn't belong to them so they ought not*** to give them to the British.

students used a 'exemplary' past they focused in ***similar events*** rather in ***changes.*** The 'paradigmatic' use of the past developed mostly in response to the 'environment' task.

> Interviewer: Would the knowledge of the past help you in your decision?
> Olina (2702): I would need to know the past, because in this way ***I could prove*** that we created these marbles and that since we didn't give them to the English, I believe that in this way, ***it is proved*** that ***it was unfair*** that the initiative [to give them] was taken by people who didn't ***own*** the marbles.

4.3.3. Past as evidence (the recent past)

The knowledge of certain action in the past functions as 'evidence' and is a prerequisite for us to make up our minds about our actions today. Thus, 'past as evidence' can be another "practical" past completely orientated to respond to certain needs. 'Past as evidence' was elicited only by the 'vote' task and unlike the previous category ('past that clarifies circumstances') is a very recent past, almost not a past at all. The four years service of the government is used as a 'test' or as a 'trial' for the students to decide what to vote. Students used expressions that had to do with 'action' like: "what a party did", or "what a party has done so far", "see a party or a politician in action", "they haven't done anything", "if they realized what they promised", "how they reacted", "what they promised" etc. Students also used many temporal expressions and their commonest tense, has been the present perfect.

> Interviewer: What do you need to know in order to vote, what are your criteria to vote?
> Christos (2402): I need to know as Marianna said the programmes, but I also need to know about the party that is governing now, I see what it has offered so far and what it claims that it will offer to our country ('πολιτεία') and according to what it says and ***what it actually realizes,*** I will see whether this party is good enough to be 'up there', to govern us, or if we will have to try another, there is no other way ... , some people [politicians] say, 'I will do this, I will do the other' and I do not know what else they claim, but this

(what politicians can do) shows only ***in action*** ('praxis' he said) **so we have to choose by trial** ('δοκιμή').

Eleanna (1203): [I would like to know how] ***the party coped with this problem,*** what it ***did*** and what it ***didn't,*** what it should do, ... I am not going to 'stick' on what a party says but ***on what it does...***

4.3.4. Conclusion on the 'useful' past

Students in these three categories (B1) past/history that teaches, (B2) past that clarifies circumstances, (B3) past as evidence, actually 'used' an "enlarged"[1] present in the place of the past; in this way past became "domesticated" thus usable (Lowenthal, 1985). Lee also commented on the students' tendency to 'assimilate' the past with their present (2005: 48): if students find the past 'useful', they implicitly see it as similar to the present. The past of category (B2), 'past that clarifies situations', is the 19th century but its function seems to be instrumental: students 'use' the 19th century knowledge because the latter has consequences in their lives in the present.

4.4. THE SIGNIFICANT PAST

(the material past) which represents significant historical themes, past activities & past civilizations

Students opted for preserving monuments that represent other people's identities or that are indicative of specific civilizations. Students also opted for preserving a past connected to events or people that are considered important. Students' constructs that were allocated to this category, do not include any justification as to why certain past items were selected, other than that these items are connected to "important" events or "important" people.

Common indicators in this category are the following: past items are usually selected because they belong to an "important period" or even to a "glorious period", or

[1] Lowenthal (Lowenthal, 1985: xvii) used the expression "enlarged" about a present that is used as past. He also used the expression "domestication of the past".

because they belong to the "glorious past". Past items are also selected because they constitute samples of a "great civilization", or because a civilization was "a landmark in history". Past items are preserved because they belong to a period of "intellectual acme" or because they are "works of value". Other past items are connected to an "***important*** poet" or "***important*** man" or they are the work of some "***important*** painter" or "***important*** architect". A neoclassical building ought to be preserved because it might be connected to "***important*** decisions" that were made inside the house. Some typical excerpts:

> Task: preservation task, she speaks about the temple of the 5th century BC and about the Byzantine church
> Ioulia (2402a): Because ***they both represent two very important civilizations,*** that bloomed and displayed an ***art*** equally developed, and I consider them as very important for history, milestones, I consider them (the ancient temple and the church) equally important.

> Task: the preservation task, she speaks about the poet's house
> Irene (2502b): I select as three the poet's house. It is something very important, he was a well known poet, ***his house must be important too*** (the house is preserved because is connected to events or people that are also considered as being important).

'How everything began' also seems to appeal to students. The excerpt below is the sole excerpt articulated as such, but the idea of 'beginnings' or 'origins' might be implicit in the 'past item to be preserved as old' (cat.D2a).

> Question: Why did you select first the 5th century BC temple and afterwards the 19th century neoclassical building?
> Lambros (1703b): Ancient history is more interesting [if compared to the 19th history] because this is how the civilization began, ***this is how everything began.***

Lowenthal (1998: 173-191) commented on the 'mysticism' (my use of the word) that develops around initiating processes: "Proximity to the earliest beginnings" (Lowenthal 1998: 176) seems to attribute value to items and superiority to persons. He also referred to "prestige", territorial rights and other claims that develop in favour of people and peoples that have been, in some way, "the first". Lambros may be allying himself with latter standpoint when he justifies his preference for ancient history over that of the 19th century because it is a period that marks the beginning of civilization.

There are also other points of significance in this category: apart from selecting "glorious" past periods or past items that are connected to "important" people students also selected certain 'themes'. Lakis (0403) for example selected the neoclassical building because "it is the product of the ***art*** that existed then". Alexis (0903) selected the prison "because it reminds us of the ***politics*** of the 2nd World War". Finally the Byzantine church and the temple of the 5th BC were selected because they were connected to ***religion.***

Christina (0203b) was a unique example in that her response implied that she was aware of a sense of ***historical agency***. She selected the neoclassical building because "important decisions must have been taken" in that building. Her thinking could be developing in the following way: neoclassical houses are impressive houses, it is only important people that live in impressive houses and important decisions are made by "important people".

Category (C) to a high degree stands very close to (A1c) category, '(the material past) that asserts/materializes our national identity'. The reason why two separate categories are needed is because of the wording in students' answers and, on the whole, the different tone of their answers. In the present (C) category, they do not use possessive pronouns like ***"our"*** (***"our*** civilization") and they also speak in a 'neutral' not an emotional way. Students just seem to be assessing the individual cases (of past items or monuments) in order to come to some conclusion about their significance. On the other hand, one ought to take into consideration the possibility that students' selections are still "directed" (Bartlett, ed. 1995: 255) by their sociocultural environment: people opt for solutions to their problems that seem to be 'familiar', and their criteria for what is valuable or beautiful is consistent with a

certain time, period and place. Students may not always claim the ancient temple or the Byzantine church as 'theirs' but the fact that they consider these two monuments more significant than the other past items is important for the assessment of their answers.

4.5. THE DESIRED PAST

4.5.1. The past desired because it is aesthetically appealing

Students selected the neoclassical building, the Byzantine church and the temple of the 5th century BC as "beautiful", or "appealing", but most of them chose the neoclassical building.

> Maria (2402b): ... they (neoclassical buildings) make our city beautiful, today in Athens houses are not that beautiful as in the past.

Students' selections seem to be indicative of their cultural and educational context; classical antiquities and Byzantine art (religion) constitute parts of the Greek identity. Neoclassical buildings also became a part of the Greek identity because they were seen as a continuance and development of the ancient monuments. As Zivas pointed out, the architectural neoclassicism of the 1930s was designed to glorify the ancient past, the revelation of which would contribute to the country's development (Ζήβας[1], 1997: 40). Within the same context the Greek state had always prioritised the preservation of classical and Byzantine antiquities and these monuments were protected by a 1932 law (Ζήβας, 1997: 39).

4.5.2. The past desired because of its remoteness

- Remote as 'old'

Past (as monuments) has to be preserved either because it is very old or because it is impossible to reproduce.

[1] Zivas (1997): *The Monuments and the City*, Athens: Libro, my translation of the title.

On the whole students seem to appreciate 'remoteness' for two reasons. First, because 'remoteness' as their national origin includes them in a prestigious group; the Greek national narrative allows them to identify with a group of people (the ancient Greeks) who lived in a very remote period of time. In this period of time many institutions, ways of thinking and ways of life were supposed to have been initiated. The data has so far shown that Greek students feel flattered[1] to be a part of any kind of initiating processes and so they opt for periods of time when everything is supposed to have begun.

Second, Greek students opt for 'remoteness' in time in relation to the monuments of the preservation exercise. The latter pattern was expected because it had also emerged in the pilot studies carried out in April and September 2003. I think that in this case there is a 'metahistorical' aspect in students' thinking, or an unwitting effort to engage in historical thinking. In other words students seem to retain the past for the sake of the past, they respect the past exactly because it is past, because of its 'pastness'. The past is not the present, thus the past is different and the past has to be preserved because it is different. From this point of view the 'older' a monument is the rarer it is, the rarer a monument might be the more valuable it is thought of, thus it has to be preserved.

> Lena (1003): I first select the temple of the 5th century BC ***because it is the most ancient monument,*** and I am sure that it is of great importance and of great historical interest.
>
> Dimitra (2602a): I have selected as first the 5th century temple BC and the Byzantine church because I believe that they are ***the oldest buildings*** and that they are the most valuable of all.

Oakeshott (1983) offers us another insight into this problem. His description of the "practical" past includes an instance where people seek inspiration or solutions for their everyday present problems in the use of past "objects". Oakeshott claimed that

[1] Alexis (0903): ... when we were ***pioneers*** in Europe (Elgin marbles' task) and Petros (1703b): ... mainly to show ***how old*** our history is (after he has selected the 5th century BC temple in the preservation task).

in the latter circumstances these objects do not really belong to the past but to the present where people's problems also belong. Within the same context when people attribute value to a past 'survival', the latter is not really a past survival, that is to say a piece from the past. On the contrary the specific 'past' object that people claim to use is only an object 'recalled' from the past for present use. According to Oakeshott when people attribute "superior merit" (1983: 37) to what has survived, they are actually "accounting for its present usefulness in terms of its *durability*" (my emphasis). In the end they do not admire the past object as such but they appreciate the fact that an object that old can still be useful. The following excerpts suggest that students think in this way too:

> Amalia (1203): I select the 5th century BC temple as first because it is very old and because it has been ***so difficult to be preserved*** till now and from this point of view it would ***be a pity if it were destroyed.***

> Panagiota (0403): A temple of the 5th century BC is very important because ***it has managed to 'survive'***[1] that many centuries, in this sense ***it would be a pity*** if it were demolished for the road to be constructed and I think it is only reasonable to claim that the older is something the more significant it is.

- Past items that are rare

Students may endorse or dismiss the past (monument) simply on the grounds that a specific site or building is a rare site or building or one that one comes across very often. On the whole students tend to preserve (past) items that materialize experiences which are either considered as rare or unrepeatable in the present.

> Loukas (2502b): I select the 5th century temple, because it constitutes a ***rare*** phenomenon, we haven't met ***that many*** temples of such remote periods and it is certain that ***a temple like that cannot be rebuilt.***

[1] If it were literally translated from Greek, it would be 'not to be demolished' or 'να μείνει όρθιος'.

Fourteen excerpts in the (D2b) category 'past items that are rare' were identified. On the other hand those students who used the 'past items that are rare' justification more than once when they referred to different monuments were counted twice. I will refer to Sonia (1703a) for example who used the justification above twice about the watermill and the Byzantine church. Prokopis (0203b) used the 'rarity' justification for the 5th century BC temple and the watermill. On the whole this category was 'constructed' out of the students' answers in the preservation task; the monuments that were considered to be rare were the Byzantine church (four times), the neoclassical 19th century house (four times), the 5th century BC temple (three times) and the watermill (twice).

- (The material past) that asserts or materializes 'not experienced' events

The 'past (monument) that materializes the not lived experience' category comprises responses that preserve past remains because the students have actually 'missed the experience'. These students have 'second hand' clues about specific events and they sense that participation in these events could have been important. It is probable that students know and appreciate the 'meaning' (political or other) of such events; still, they have not had the actual experience. They therefore depend on the past remains to keep the sense of the specific phenomenon.

> Chrysa (2502a): It is important to retain the 5th century temple because it is an achievement of old times and ***shows that whatever we read is true.***

> Kyriaki (1203): I put the poet's house first, because I believe that it is the house not as a building but as a general atmosphere, ***it is this special atmosphere*** [of the house] that justifies how this big artist evolved.

In Chrysa's words one can discern a positivistic tone, the monument is to be preserved to 'show' that certain events existed, took place. Lowenthal also asserted that the great advantage of relics from the past, in contrast to written sources, is exactly their "immediacy" (Lowenthal, 1985: xxiii) the fact that they concretize the past. In Kyriaki's words the tone is more emotional. In Kyriaki's excerpts one can

sense how students use the relics to reproduce a 'special' atmosphere that they missed because they never got to know the poet or watched him while he wrote. Some of the excerpts in the same category have a more intense 'commemorative' character:

> Alexandros (1703a): I select the prison as first because I believe that the people ***ought to remember***[1] all those people who while they resisted [dictatorship] were also treated as if they were criminals and there are many people today who would want all these to be forgotten, and this is why the prison should be preserved, ***in order to prove that all these really happened.***

The 'past (monument) that materializes not experienced events' category might also refer to a loss of experience that took place not on an individual level, as above, but on a historical level. The subjects who suffer from this sense of an experience that they missed could not have had the possibility of living the experience because the latter was very remote in time. The central idea here is that students come to the realization that the past cannot be repeated exactly or cannot be repeated at all in the present.

> Kyriaki (1203): I select the Byzantine church because ... the way they had made it, though it was a very remote period then, they paid attention to details, they were interested in what they were doing, ***we don't meet it*** (that attitude) ***today,*** despite the means that we have and the development of the technology, if one today tried to make a Byzantine church ***no one would ever make it like then,*** because I believe that people today do no have the interest and the eagerness (Greek word: 'μεράκι') for this kind of work, in those years they lacked the means to make perfect pieces of art, but these works proved to be perfect because of the interest the technicians displayed.

[1] This part of the excerpt has also been included in the 'debt' category, (A1a) 'past as debt'.

- Past as different and good to know (the "historical" past)

In this category were included those excerpts that indicated a sense of historical[1] interest on the students' part. Students used a lot of expressions that referred to a process of acquiring knowledge from relics of the past. These were understood as an indication of their historical thinking because they recognized the fact that material past relics give us insights into ways of life different from the contemporary way of life. Students for once seemed to have avoided 'presentism'.

Eleanna (1203) retained the 5th century BC temple because one can ***know how*** they constructed temples in ***those years*** while Anastasia (0203b) selected the neoclassical building because one can see how people of ***those years perceived things.*** Lambros (1703b) saw the 5th century temple ***as an indication*** of how religious the ancient Greeks were, while Stelios said that the temple's architecture is an indication of ***those people's way of life.*** On the other hand, Loukas (2502b) claimed that the watermill must be preserved in order for the people to understand the economy ***of those years.*** Maria (2402b) said that the neoclassical 19th century building ought to be retained because the ***way in which*** they built houses ***then*** was so ***different***, one can ***learn how*** those people lived. Kostas (0903) noted that the neoclassical building ***is an indication of a certain way of life*** and an indication of wealth and Panagiotis (3003) said that he selected the watermill because ***it shows to us the way*** in which the Greeks of ***those years*** were trying to develop.

There was also recognition of a special process for one to acquire all possible knowledge from the past remains. As Olina put it referring to the preservation of an archaeological site:

[1] I used the word 'historical' in the sense Nakou used the term in her book about adolescents' historical thinking: "when students were given the opportunity to think about historical relics, they did express historical thinking of a level of historical methodology ... the content of their answers had an historical character, *because students did not think of the relics as if they belonged to an ahistorical present, but they connected the relics to their origin and their construction in the past, to their human and social context ...* " (Νάκου, 2000: 209-210, my emphasis, translated from Greek).

> Olina (2702): ***It is important enough though for the archaeologists' work,*** for those people (the archaeologists) the archaeological site[1] would mean a lot more.

Students commented on different past mentalities and even on their contemporaries' lack of empathy towards people from the past:

> Anastasia (0203b): I have selected the 5th century BC temple first, because it indicates the religious climate of ***those years*** and ***how important a temple for the life of those*** people would be.

> Christina (0203b): I opted for the 5th century BC temple because it shows to us that ***they held different beliefs then.***

> Interviewer: Other beliefs in relation to religion or in general?
> Christina: In relation to religion, there might have been another way of thinking for the Greeks and the other peoples then and ***now we don't think positively about all these and we are having problems with these people.***

Christina seemed to mean that we are having problems with people we don't understand and that we don't understand them because they are different. Students made implicit and explicit comparisons between 'now' and 'then' while they talked:

> Amalia, (1203): I select as second the manufacture of the 19th century because it is very important for us to be able to see what was happening in those years ***so as to make a comparison with the present.***

[1] She was asked whether she would preserve a mere archaeological site in the same way she opted for the 5th century temple. It was suggested to her that a mere site means only a little to most of the people while a temple is endorsed because it offers a complete picture. The discussion was initiated because the pilot study (September 2003) indicated that students 'dismissed' the archaeological sites as 'incomplete' and thus meaningless.

> Angela (1703): I select the neoclassical building because it shows civilization and ***how different things were then*** from today

Sometimes the comparison referred to Greece and sometimes to other countries; in this way one can distinguish strands from the Greek narrative:

> Vasilis (1003): I selected the watermill as third because it shows that our country then was in war while the rest of the countries were fully developed and were using many inventions

Here we have a pattern of the type: 'we could have developed but the others didn't let us, because we had to fight'.

4.5.3 Conclusion on the 'desired past'

The 'desired' students' past seems to be either the 'aesthetically appealing' past or the 'remote' past. The 'aesthetically appealing' past mediates students' cultural predispositions; the 'remote' past seems to be attractive exactly because it is different. Still, the 'remote past' can be an equally "practical" past, like the past we met in the previous categories ("useful past" etc): the predisposition for the 'unfamiliar' might correspond to a need to escape from the present in the same way that our memories are constructed in response to our present worries[1] (Halbwachs, ed. 1992: 40).

4.6. CONCLUSION

There has been a broad use of "practical" pasts by students. There were times when the 'continuities' between past and present were given, as with the identity categories. There were other times when a process of "rationalization" (Bartlett, ed. 1995) took place and "similarities" between past and present had to be found or invented by the students, as in the 'useful past' categories ('paradigmatic past', 'past as evidence', 'past that clarifies'). Finally, students opted for a past that they liked:

[1] Halbwachs did refer to "contemplative dreamlike memory". He emphasized the fact that we are always under the influence of the social milieu even when we try to 'escape' from it.

the 'beautiful' and 'remote' past. Both options could be related to students' needs and to the students' present in various ways. Students seemed to be functioning more professionally (like historians) when they described the "affordances" of relics from the past in terms of the things they could learn from them ('historical past, D2d).

Note: the descriptive statistics that refer to the endorsement of the past are in appendix C; there the number of students articulating similar constructs in specific tasks is shown.

Chapter 5: The Category System
(the 'rejection' of the past and the 'balanced' stance)

Figure 5.1. The category system.

Rejection of the Past

A) Past not relevant to our identity

(the material past) that does NOT assert/materialize our national identity

B) Past is not relevant to our present problems

B1. things or conditions today are different

B2. certain past items can no longer be used

C) The not significant past

C1. environment is not historic

C2. certain events do not constitute history

D) The not desired past

D1a. the 'ugly' past

D1b. the not flattering past

D2. the 'easily accessible' past

D2a. past not old enough

D2b. past items that are abundant

D2c. past (information) available from other sources

5.1. INTRODUCTION

In the previous chapter students' answers were presented which indicated that students endorsed the past, because it was relevant either to students' national identity or to their problems of everyday life. Students also indicated that past items should be preserved because they were attractive to them. Students either liked them (found them aesthetically appealing) or were interested in them because these items could evoke 'different' and remote experiences.

Students' attitudes revealed above referred to a "practical past" (Oakeshott, 1983) or to a "level of practical life" (Rüsen, 2005: 133). According to Oakeshott, while the "historical past" constitutes an enquiry exclusively about the past, the "practical past" is a past 'bound' to the concerns of an everyday practical present. Rüsen on the other hand, first argued that one of the functions of history is to help people to orientate within present past and future: "recalling of the past is a necessary condition of furnishing human life with a cultural frame orientation..." (2005: 132). In other words people need to make sense of their present and they also need to form a future perspective about their lives; to do so they need to refer to the past[1]. Second, Rüsen emphasized the fact that "historical thinking has its own logic", its own methodology; the latter methodology while derived from people's 'practical' needs[2] is not identified with them.

On the whole students' past as located in their responses appeared to be a 'practical' past while in most cases students entered a process of 'cultural identity building'. In students' answers one could identify 'cultural' choices, choices relevant to students' society and educational environment. They adopted a selective stance towards the past, they endorsed the past when it seemed to be familiar to them but when this was not the case they still tried to locate continuities between the past and their present condition. When students were not in a position to identify continuities between past and present they dismissed the past, usually on the grounds of discontinuity or, in their own words, "changes".

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[1] Rüsen also noticed that people may refer to the past, but this doesn't mean that "a concept of continuity is always plausible" (Rüsen, 1993: 5).

[2] See the "Schema of Historical Thinking", Rüsen, 2005: 133.

Students endorsed the past 'relevant to their national identity', the past 'relevant thus useful to their problems' and the 'desired' past. But equally students dismissed the past because it was not relevant to their identity or to their needs (thus 'not relevant' equals 'not useful'). Students dismissed certain kinds of not attractive or 'not desired' past. They also dismissed the past on the grounds of its content: certain sectors of life were not considered significant enough to be 'historical'. Finally, students dismissed the past when the latter was 'easily accessible'. Often the reasons why students dismissed the past were the same as the reasons they endorsed it, but in reverse.

Figure 5.2. Endorsement and dismissal of the past.

ENDORSEMENT of the PAST	DISMISSAL of the PAST
Past relevant to our identity (A1b & A1c)	**Past not relevant to our identity (A)**
Past relevant to our problems/useful (B1, B2 & B3)	**Past not relevant to our problems because it is different, because of changes (B1 & B2)**
Past is interesting because it is different (historical past) (D2d)	**Past dismissed as different (B1 & B2)**
Desired past (aesthetically appealing) (D1)	**Not desired past (D1a & D1b)**
Desired past (remote past) (D2)	**Past easily accessible (D2)**
Past items preserved because they are 'old' (D2a)	**Past items rejected because they are not old enough (D2a)**
Past items that are rare (D2b)	**Abundant past items (D2b)**
Past items preserved because they represent significant historical themes, past activities & past civilizations (C)	**Past items 'dismissed' because they represent unimportant or not historical sectors of life (C1, C2)**

5.2. THE NOT RELEVANT PAST/NOT RELEVANT TO our identity

(the material past) that does not assert or materialize our national identity

> Panagiotis (3003): I have selected as fourth the 5th century temple because I believe that despite the fact that the 5th century BC had been a century of acme for Greece, ***it wouldn't contribute to our cultural identity, it is pagan temple and we are no longer pagans,*** the official Greek religion ..., and I have selected as fifth the neoclassical building because those years ***had not been exactly a landmark for our civilization*** ('δε σημάδεψαν') if a foreigner sees the house he won't understand anything of the Greek soul ('πνεύμα του ελληνικού λαού').
>
> Constadina (1703, preservation task): I select as last the neoclassical building of the 19th century because I believe that it is ***not important either for our history or for our religion.***

In fact the (A) category is the (A1c) category, '(material past) that asserts or materializes our national identity', 'reversed'. There were only five relevant excerpts out of a total of sixty interviews but interesting ideas were located in students' excerpts as with Constadina above, who accounted for what she perceived to be the elements of Greek identity in a 'reverse' way. On the whole, the five excerpts of the category (A) indicate the monuments or past items with which students *do not* identify, because the latter items are not considered indicative of students' national narrative.

5.3. THE NOT RELEVANT PAST/NOT RELEVANT TO our problems

The past is not assessed as 'relevant' to students' everyday problems because there is no obvious similarity between the past and students' present. A typical example of this construct is the following excerpt:

> Question: Would the past be useful for you to decide what to vote?
> Ioulia (2402a): I am divided in two (meaning she cannot decide, 'διχασμένη') they say that there is a ***radical change*** in this party and in the policies in general of this party, in that case the present is ***irrelevant*** to the past.

Thus, since students cannot locate an 'unproblematic' (more familiar) past to recall, they continue retaining their problematic and 'intractable' (Oakeshott, 1983: 16) present. The latter stance towards the past is expressed as an anxiety and confusion on the part of the students who produced two different patterns within this context. First, 'things or conditions today are different' (B1), a pattern that emphasized the distance between past and present. Another version of the latter (B1) construct was the 'today's *needs* have changed' pattern; this pattern about *needs* also served the idea of a past which is completely estranged from the present and thus not usable. Second, another 'non functional' past appears in the form of the (B2) pattern, 'certain past items (past technology) can no longer be used'.

5.3.1. Things or conditions today are different

The analysis of the data has so far indicated a tension in students' responses between *similarity* and *difference*, that is to say similarities and differences between the past and the present. Students usually felt that they could use the past only when changes did not exist, or when changes were not that big or "radical", as several students put it:

> Question: Would the past be useful for you to decide what to vote?
> Ioulia (2402a): ... since there is a ***radical change*** we start a new chapter.

> Question: Would the knowledge of the political history of Greece in the 19th century help you in order to vote?

> Angela (1703): ... there is a relationship [between past and present] because there haven't been any ***big and radical changes,*** Greece is developing slowly ...

This is the reason why students felt that they could use the recent past as opposed to the remote past. The recent past was understood because there are no great differences between the past and the present. In that case students felt that they could search the past for "similar events". Because similar events do not exist in the remote past, the remote past is useless in specific cases. Thus the environment task did not reveal similarities to the past because "then roads were not being constructed"[1] whereas the vote task produced patterns about the recent past; students opted unanimously "for the last four years service of the government" ('θητεία' in Greek) as a 'tester' that they could use to vote[2]. The past was used as a tester in a very technical way. The impression is that change matters because it produces differences that render the past 'useless'. Very few students felt as if there was any benefit to be gained from an awareness of the differences between past and present. The analysis above is supported by research conducted in Britain about students' perception of change. Shemilt (1980: 35) noted that students usually see change as an "episodic not a continuous process", as an "occasional disruption". Thus students are not able to discern any continuity in the changes that take place in history. As Lee found in his pilot research (2002: 27-28) students "treat changes in history as entirely unpredictable ... they are not even part of any process and ... do not even teach lessons". In the same way the students who participated in this research generally saw change as an obstacle that hid the past from them, making it unintelligible.

The pattern (B1) 'things or conditions today are different' was usually articulated in three ways: sometimes students complained that present conditions or needs are so different from those of the past that there is no point in referring to the past. There were also times when students revealed 'condescension' towards the past; they attributed some usefulness to the past as long as no (big) changes had taken place.

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[1] Kostas (2702).

[2] Christos (2402): ... so we have to choose ***by trial*** (δοκιμή).

> Question: Would the knowledge of the political parties' remote past inform our vote?
> Angela (1703): There were ***different*** criteria then, the period we are living in, 2004, is much more different from 1000, even from 1990, it is so different from now, we could never adopt ('να πάρουμε') criteria ***that old,*** even more from those periods at the beginnings of the century (we couldn't adopt their criteria either, she means) when these political parties were created, because every four years, if not every year, things ***change,*** society changes, some things develop, in a way ... we cannot be deciding using the same criteria for a whole century.

The excerpt above includes some of the strongest indicators for this category, like: "different" (three times) "change" (twice) "develop" and many temporal phrases; Angela like other students compared the past with the present. So she used the phrases: "criteria that old", "for a whole century".

Other students tended to be more historically informed and specific in their answers revealing an understanding of the parameters and sectors of (political) life where differences appear. While students like Angela just displayed a predisposition to 'get rid' of the past, students like Panagiotis and Nikos developed an argument:

> Question: Would the Greek political history of the 19th century inform your vote?
> Panagiotis (3003): Conditions were much different then and the politicians in power then were trying to reconstruct the state, a state which was created in those years, whereas today we see that we need more of a government to deal with the problems that existed in the recent past, problems that could exist in the future too.
>
> Question: Would the knowledge of the past inform your vote?

> Nikos (2702): In relation to the vote, no [the past would not help], because things have changed, in old times they spoke about the 'right', but now everything has changed, everything depends on the leaders and the persons? ('πρόσωπα' in Greek) it is no longer a question of 'right' and 'left', there is not such a difference ('απόκλιση') between them (he means: there is no much difference between right wing politics and left wing politics).

There is still confusion about change in the version of 'condescension' towards past. Cognitively this version is like the first one, where students dismiss the past on the grounds of change. Sonia[1], for example, admits that a political party's former success couldn't guarantee future success in case the leader of the party changed. Marianna[2] also made the past's usability dependent on keeping the same leader.

Students also expressed their embarrassment about the past, protesting that there were no 'similar events' in history or 'repetition' of history:

> Question: Would the knowledge of the 19th Greek political history inform your vote now?
> Lakis (0403): Not especially.
> Interviewer: And why?
> Lakis: It is too far in the past, today's ***specific parties*** did not exist then.

> Question: Would the knowledge of the past inform your vote now?
> Panagiota (0403): ***The past is irrelevant*** to our vote, it could be that a party was successful in the past because that party

[1] Sonia (1703).

[2] Marianna (2402b).

Question: would the history of the several political parties inform your vote?

Maria: if the politicians remained the ***same*** in a party, of course I would be [influenced by the past] but if the politician, the president of a party ***changed,*** I might think ***differently,*** because as I said, conditions also ***change,*** so do the people, he might act ***differently*** (the politician) from his predecessors.

had been lucky in the specific period ... ***it could be mere chance, it could be a coincidence***

Penny seems to argue that since we cannot be sure about the reasons why a party was successful, we cannot make use of the past. The only use of the past she can see is that of the recent past as a tester for a party's performance. Since that performance might have been accidental the recent past cannot serve as a guide for our present choices.

Another version of the 'things or conditions today are different' pattern (B1) was the pattern about "needs": again the past is not functional because the changes that have taken place in relation to people's needs are just too big.

Question: Would the knowledge of the past, help you to decide on the three different issues above?
Marianthi (3003): We have to look at the future and not at the past especially in a subject like the construction of a road, especially now that we are living in an époque where everything is modernized and that we have to provide for the ***needs*** of the people that live nowadays and not of those who belonged to the past, so as for the first issue (the road) I believe that we shouldn't look at the past (literal translation) even to our own experiences, ...

later and about the 'vote task'

Marianthi: We shouldn't look at the past in regard to the vote either, because the ***demands*** of the present society are different from the ***needs*** then.

Figure 5.3 on the next page gives a synopsis of how the word "needs" was used by students in this research. The interesting thing about "needs" was that it was used by students equally to dismiss the past or to endorse the past, in the same way as the word "changes".

Figure 5.3. The 'needs' issue.

Students referred a lot either to present 'needs' or to past 'needs' perhaps to emphasize their belief that dismissing the past is a question of an 'emergency'. The past here is considered as an unrealistic but romantic and luxurious option, if an option at all. Students seem to be thinking that people ought first to cater for their needs and only afterwards pursue other targets. The word 'needs' was used in the following ways:

History is to be dismissed (history is not predictable, thus chaotic)

- because needs have changed (see excerpt quoted above in main text), or
- because needs in general change

History can be useful (history is predictable while there is implicit repetition)

either • because human needs are the same (this is the reason why history is repeated)

> Question: Are there more differences or similarities between past and present?
> Angela (1703a): Similarities I believe, because the same needs lead to the same solutions (αντιμετώπιση).

or • because people always seek to satisfy their needs (man remains the same)

Alexia (0203b, has previously asserted that medicine will develop because there is a great need for that)

> Alexia: ***Whenever*** we have needs, we are trying to satisfy them
> Interviewer: Do you mean that some things happen only because we want them very much to happen?
> Alexia: Not because we want them to happen but because we need them very much; I believe that we have the possibility to satisfy needs which really exist.

On the whole students handled the factor 'needs' as if it were some natural law ("whenever we have ..."). Alexia actually meant that every time something happens, some other thing will also happen (people will react). On the other hand, belief in the importance of needs (either needs tend to change or not) could remind us of the fact that students, according to Shemilt, handle 'cause' as something 'akin to a *physical agency* and not as a relation between two events' (1980: 30). Big needs that cannot be confronted by anyone seem to govern people's lives.

5.3.2. Certain past items (past technology) can no longer be used

Pattern (B2) is similar to the 'needs' pattern in the sense that students have difficulties in locating a past functional in the present. The difference here is that the whole discussion concerns a material and technical past, actually past remains, and not the past experience in general. Students assessed this type of past as a useless past failing to perceive these objects as past remains. What seems to be present here is a highly developed 'presentism' or an enormously extended "practical past". Since these objects can no longer be used in our everyday life, 'used' literally and not metaphorically, they are to be dismissed, actually thrown away. Students did not see them as possible evidence for enquiry into the past. They measured their use and value by today's standards of technology and, as a consequence, modern technology won. The latter attitude was underlined when a student (Anna) developed an exactly 'reverse' type of reasoning:

> Question: preservation task, she talks about the watermill
> Anna (2502a): I select the watermill [to be preserved] because if the watermill was well preserved, ***it could also be used***

And the more common pattern:

> Question: preservation task, she talks about the watermill
> Anna (3003): I select as last the watermill because I do not believe that it offers any knowledge to the young ones, because, in a way, with the technological change, I do not believe that there is any reason for it to exist.

This pattern appeared ten times in the twenty interviews (sixty students). There were times where the 'certain past items (past technology) can no longer be used' pattern coexisted in students' answers with pattern (C2). Pattern (C2) refers to past remains that were dismissed because they represented 'certain sectors of life and events (which) do not constitute history'. There were students whose answers referred to both categories:

> Question: preservation past, she talks about the watermill
> Maria (2402b): ... it is not like a temple from which we can learn how the ancients worshipped their gods or something from the architecture point of view, now ... technology has developed and we also have additional means to accomplish whatever we used to accomplish by the watermill.

Maria expressed two thoughts here:

(a) [... it is not ...architecture point of view ...]: (C2), the not significant past, everyday activities like the ones implied by the watermill do not belong to history.

(b) [now ... technology ... watermill]: (B2), certain past items can no longer be used.

5.3.3. Conclusion/Rüsen's "critical" type

Students, who in this research produced patterns within the context of the 'things or conditions today are different', B1 category, displayed similarities to Rüsen's "critical" type of historical consciousness (1993: 74). Students opted to base the majority of their reasoning on a critique of the past and this focused on the past's inadequacy to function in a modern, present framework. Is the above stance really a moral stance towards the past or a 'defective' orientation towards the past? In other words did students dismiss the past out of an inability to see continuities between past and present or because they just opted for the present?

Rüsen explained that 'his' critical type selects a stance in order to oppose any form of past narrative (Rüsen, 2004b: 208). In addition, he emphasized the fact that the "critical" type does not constitute a "sufficient" type of historical consciousness, because the critical type's negation of the past is not sufficient for this purpose. Rüsen therefore explained that "critical narrative serves as the necessary catalyst in the transformation of the "traditional" type into the "exemplary" type and the "exemplary" type into the "genetic" type (Rüsen, 1993: 11). On the other hand Lee (2002: 26) writing about students' well known 'presentism', referred to the possibility that students might prefer to use a different type of past, certainly an un problematic past, a past that is less "obscure" (Oakeshott, 1983: 35) than the historical past.

Students' well informed answers on pages 172-173 of this chapter (Panagiotis and Nikos) indicate that at least some students opted for a different kind of narrative. This could be the narrative of differentiation and progress; of a progress that ruptures the continuity between past and present. The past within this narrative does not function as an "affordance"[1] but as a "constraint". This type of 'progressive' narrative was developed by students in the form of ideas about all the possible differences between the past and the present; the key idea was that in order for people to move forward, people have to leave the past behind.

However there were only six students out of the sixty-three[2] who managed to articulate an argument of the kind exemplified in the cases of Panagiotis and Nikos. The rest[3] of the students who were "critical" of the past articulated 'thoughts' typical of an "exemplary" way of thinking. Some of them opted explicitly for the recent past in the sense that it is close to the present and it can be more useful than a remote past. Most of them though, referred to *specific* changes that would prevent them from referring to the past. For example changes of "politicians", or "parties' leaders" (and therefore of "ideas"[4]) were thought of as serious reasons for the students to 'abstain' from the past. Students also referred to changes of the political parties and in the 'construction of the road'[5] issue they responded that it would be easier for them to decide 'in favour of' or 'against' the road construction if "some accident" had taken place in the past in the specific area.

On the whole, students seem to have given in to an "exemplary" use of the past, searching for specific past events to use as a model for the present. The latter

[1] "Affordance" and "constraint" are used as by Wertsch (2000: 40).

[2] Sixty- three students articulated a 'things or conditions today are different' construct, not the general sample (sixty students).

[3] Fifty-three students' excerpts were 'allocated' to the (B1) category 'things or conditions today are different' and about ten other cases to the (B2) category 'certain past items can no longer be used'; only six students out of the sixty-three articulated a coherent argument 'against' the past (see Appendix D).

[4] According to students when politicians are "not the same" political ideas also cannot remain the "same".

[5] 'The construction of the road' was a task in which students had to choose between the construction of a road that would damage the environment and traffic problems if the road was not constructed. .

tendency brings us to the 'condescension towards the past' version of the 'things or conditions today are different' (B1) pattern. Students reasoned that: "If only ***changes*** were ***not*** that many or ***big,*** then the past might be useful". Arguably the latter students' stances cannot be described in Rüsen's "critical" type terms: students are using a 'critical' vocabulary but they lack a coherent argument 'against' the past.

5.4. THE NOT SIGNIFICANT PAST

A place without monuments, monuments that memorialise human endeavour in sectors of life such as war, politics, art or religion, is not considered as historic by the students. Activities that serve the purpose of simply keeping people 'going', nourishing them for example[1], are not worth commemorating. As a result when students are called to preserve these areas or relevant monuments they claim that these monuments or areas are not 'historic'. Students are not actually dismissing the past: they cannot associate specific sectors of life with a past that is worthy of commemoration. In the end, 'history' for them is only the 'significant' past. This is the reason why their response tends to be, "this is not history". They recognise that history constitutes a selection of events. Hence what is actually under discussion here are the criteria students use to decide what is significant enough to be commemorated.

5.4.1. Environment is not historic

In the excerpt below the environment is not considered as 'historic' because it does not include archaeological sites or art remains. The past is mainly cultural: no culture, no past.

> Question: Would knowledge of the past help you to decide on the road issue (whether to construct a road that would effect the environment)?
> Kostas (2702): If there were temples, like that over there, buried sculptures, that would be a reason to prevent us from constructing the road over there, ***so as to protect the marbles that are of great historic significance*** for the country.

[1] The case of the 'watermill'.

In total five students out of sixty dismissed the environmental past on the grounds that a space with no monuments constitutes no history. All these answers originated in the "would the knowledge of the past help you in order to decide about the road issue?" question. The expressions (wording) of the students are similar to the expressions of the (C2) category below: students in both cases claimed that a non built environment or an area with no important buildings is not 'historic'.

In the (C2) category students dismissed specific buildings as not historic. On the other hand, students in the (C1) category seemed to believe that an environment without any kind of buildings or monuments is not historic; environment on its own bears no 'pastness'. I think that students here adopted the classical dichotomy between 'nature' and 'culture', where only 'culture' is considered the object of history (Ρεπούση[1], 2004: 84). The differences between (C1) and (C2) are as follows. First, the excerpts included in these two categories came from different tasks. (C1) came exclusively from the task about the environment[2], while (C2) came from the preservation task. Second, in (C1) students dismissed the environment or the nature as not historic, while in (C2) students did not designate specific types of buildings as 'monumental spaces'.

5.4.2. Certain sectors of life and events do not constitute 'history'

The question here is what is significant in history? However, what is significant in history changes from époque to époque, is affected by political reality and is also related to "institutions and ceremonies of collective remembrance" (Rüsen, 2005: 130) such as monuments or other commemoration acts. Students' thinking in relation to shifts in the political significance of certain monuments has already been investigated and discussed by Seixas and Clark (2001).

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[1] Repousi, M. (2004): The Landscape as 'Evidence' in History: Monuments and Places of Memories, in K. Agelakos and G. Kokkinos (eds) *Interdisciplinary Approaches of Knowledge in the Greek School,* Athens: Metaichmio, my translation of the title. Whether landscape constitutes history or not has not always been 'granted' in the theory of history. Repousi in her article (2004: 86) also made reference to the relevant issue of History and Theory (2003, 42) which was dedicated to Environmental History.

[2] The 'three issues set' task (environment, vote, Elgin marbles).

In Greece there is a certain cultural and political context that influences students. Students' devotion to "culture" and their preference for the culture of ancient Greece (as expressed in the tasks) may be connected to the Greek state's policies for culture and education. It should be related to the conditions under which the Greek nation-state was founded and to the Greek narrative about the continuity of the Greek people through the ages (Ρεπούση, 2004: 91). More specifically, the policies of the Greek state in relation to what should constitute a monument varied over time and followed the development of Greek traditional historiography. Repousi (2004: 93) referred to the fact that until 1950 only classical antiquities were legally classified as monuments in Greece.

Recently the notion of the 'monument' has expanded to include places and buildings that were not seen as 'significant' and worthy of commemoration in the past: "... a historical building does not need to be a poet's house but all the houses ... that could teach us about certain periods of cultural history" (Ζήβας[1] in Ρεπούση, 2004, my translation from Greek). Unfortunately all these changes in the notion of the 'monument' seem not to have reached schools and students.

> Interviewer (preservation task): What is the difference between the prison and the manufacture of the 19th century? (Alexandros has selected the prison and not the manufacture in the preservation task)
> Alexis (0903): The manufacture was ***just a place of work*** whereas the prison was a torture place, a place where people with liberal ideas were restricted.
> Interviewer: Why is that difference important?
> Alexis: The one [the manufacture worker] was executing one's ***routine*** whereas the other was far from his family being tortured, I cannot compare these two.

Alexis' reference to *routine* and his dismissal of *places of work* reminds us of Shemilt when he comments on his students' feeling of lack of 'personal relevance of history' (1980: 21). According to Shemilt, students think that history is not about

[1] Zivas in Repousi 2004, see note on previous page.

'ordinary' people like them but about leaders and other famous or established people; nothing that a boy of school age might experience would ever find its place in a history textbook. The latter remark, once again made by one of Shemilt's students, corroborates the findings of this research:

> Interviewer: Finally why do you opt for the watermill as your fourth choice and the 5th century temple as your first?
> Petros (1703b): ***Because I believe that history is far more important.***
> Interviewer: The watermill does not count as history then?
> Petros: In my opinion ***the watermill does not constitute peoples' history that much*** but indicates their development in all these years that passed.
> Interviewer: The watermill indicates a very specific activity; doesn't that activity constitute a part of history?
> Petros: No, I don't think so, because the way in which we now work does not constitute a way, the way in which we work does not constitute, does not contribute to history, that is to say ***we will not remain in the history we are reading*** for something like that.

Students dismiss everyday activities because they think that these activities lack historical significance; this tendency on the part of the students could also indicate a very specific perception of time or of change. The latter possibility has been discussed by Shemilt but also by Barton. The latter comments: "Students also conceived of history as involving a limited number of discrete events, rather than lengthy and extensive processes" (Barton, 1996: 67). As a consequence the relatively 'slow' economic and social processes which usually pave the way for the more impressive events (reforms, revolutions and others events) lack historical significance for students. For them, ordinary people do not make politics and history books usually are about politics; thus everyday activities do not belong to 'history'.

Indeed, students seem to lack a sense of "social time"[1] and only understand the timing of events. This latter characteristic is also a characteristic of traditional historiography. On the other hand it seems that school history does not benefit from the several shifts in historiography in the past fifty years.

5.5. THE NOT DESIRED PAST

5.5.1. The 'ugly' past

- The 'ugly' past

This pattern appeared twenty times out of the analysis of sixty student transcripts. This justifies taking it as a strong pattern because it also appeared in the September 2003 pilot. It must also be mentioned that this response was provoked entirely by the preservation task and referred solely to the 'prison' option. The indicators offered by the students were:

"ugly"	**"not pleasant"**
1. "ugly" (students' actual word in Greek: 'αντιαισθητικός')	**a.** "ugly feelings" ('άσχημα συναισθήματα')
2. "repulsive" ('απωθητική')	**b.** "ugly memories" ('άσχημες αναμνήσεις')
3. "ugly building" ('άσχημο κτίριο')	**c.** "negative memories"

It is likely that what students really meant when they articulated "ugly feelings" and "ugly memories" was "not pleasant, bad feelings" and "not pleasant, bad memories". Therefore "ugly" is used here in the sense both of ugly (in appearance) and 'not pleasant'.

This is a clear preference on the part of the students for a wholly 'practical' past. Those students who developed aesthetic criteria actually displayed a concern about their present and they deprived the specific artefact (the prison) of its past quality. 'Monuments' are also deprived of their past quality since their commemorative

[1] The expression "social time" was used by Braudel. According to Schwarz (2003: 137) Braudel distinguishes three types of historical time: the 'geographical or environmental' time, the time of social structures, states and societies and the 'individual' time or the time of events.

function is a function of the present. People in the present need to remember certain events and to do so, people raise specific past artefacts to the status of 'monument'. When students here denied the prison any commemorative quality, they developed a reverse way of reasoning. Students also spoke in a very straight forward way:

> Sophia (2402a, talking about the prison): It is an ***ugly*** building that provokes ***bad feelings and bad memories.***

Sofia actually declares that she doesn't want to remember the events connected to the prison. Nikos below expressed more 'utilitarian' thinking:

> Nikos (2702, preservation task): We have to remember all these [what took place throughout the dictatorship] in bad periods ***in order to avoid them,*** in good periods ... I don't believe, because whenever we remember how bad these periods were, [they] disturb our mood.

and Panagiotis:

> Panagiotis (3003, preservation task): ... because I believe that this is a period that we ***shouldn't*** remember.

On the other hand certainly the prison does not seem to be included in the national narrative:

> Christos (2402b, preservation task): I have selected the prison that has been used by politicians as sixth, because ***it doesn't offer anything to our cultural identity ...***

The prison doesn't offer anything to 'our identity', because antiquity doesn't leave any space for other historical periods. For the majority of students in this research there has never been any 'myth' created around the prison which was a place of resistance. Even if there was a myth created out of the 'resistance period' (the prison) it wouldn't be as enduring a memory or as effective from the identity formation point of view as an ancient temple. Because, as another student put it:

> Lambros (1703b, preservation task): Ancient history is more interesting [if compared to the 19th history] because this is how the civilization began, ***this is how everything began.***

- The 'not flattering' past

> Panagiotis (3003): As sixth (last) I select the neoclassical building, because in this period (the 19th century) we didn't display any ***special*** (he probably means 'significant', in Greek: 'ιδιαίτερο') civilization and we were only trying to reconstruct ourselves (our state) and I believe that if a building like that [the 19th century neoclassical] continues existing, it will be of no use.
>
> and later
>
> The 19th century period was a period of turmoil ('αναταραχή') throughout which the Greek state was trying to reconstruct itself and ***it doesn't appear as a period of great development and acme like the 5th century BC.***

Out of the sixty transcripts analysed this was the only example of this category. The category was nevertheless retained because in the pilot of September 2003 the 'past dismissed because not flattering' had been a very strong pattern. The name of the category was actually derived from the September data.

5.5.2. The easily accessible past

- Past not old enough

There were only four instances in this category, but it constitutes the (D2a) 'past as old' category reversed. Students rejected the neoclassical house, the watermill and the poet's house on the grounds that the latter past items were "recent" (Marinella, 1603).

- Past items that are abundant

Lowenthal noticed that the element that actually "adds to the mystique of the very ancient, is the mystique of sheer inaccessibility" (1998: 178). The findings of this research are corroborated by the above remark: the 'Endorsement' cluster of categories indicated that students tended to preserve monuments or objects that they considered to be the most precious. The items that were actually considered to be worth preserving were rare or old objects.

In the case of category (D2b) the above rationale is reversed: the past is dismissed as easily accessible either because it recurs or because it exists in abundance.

> Panos (0903): Well, what is a neoclassical building after all, ***if you go to Plaka it is full of them,*** if you just stroll you will see many of them, they even leave them as they are (he means they do not preserve or renovate them) they get destroyed. What is a neoclassical building among 2.000.000...
> Interviewer: It is not important.
> Panos: What is a neoclassical among that many others.

> Nadia (1003): ... I have selected the watermill as fifth because it is not that important, ***we can build a watermill even today.***

- Past (information) available from other sources

Students in this case claimed that some sources of information or monuments are dispensable because we have others. There are some faint signs of methodology used by students here. First, students worry about the monuments which they believe provide evidence about the past. Second, they evaluate the situation and decide what to keep. The only problem is that they seem only to count the quantity of the information:

> Interviewer: Why not keep the prison? Isn't it important for someone to remember that there has not always been democracy in Greece?
> Alexia (0203b): ***Yes but there are books*** that remind us of this, every hour, every moment.

> Interviewer: Why don't you save the house of the poet first?
> Dimitra (2602a): Because he is a modern poet and ***there must be pictures of him and books about him,*** about his ideas, his beliefs and in general all his work ought to have been saved somewhere else.

> Eleni (0203a): The poet's heritage is his poems, we could find things in his house, ***but we mainly get to know about him through his poems.***

5.6. CONCLUSION ON THE REJECTED PAST

Students dismissed the past on the grounds of 'difficulty' and 'unfamiliarity': "changes" seemed to have made the past not usable and thus dispensable. The only case where students opted for the past was the Elgin marbles' task; from this point of view it was only to be expected that in the 'Rejection of the Past' cluster of categories there would be no excerpts from the Elgin marbles' task. The interpenetration of 'culture' and students' thinking was also indicated in the cases where the past was dismissed by the students as 'not desired' or 'not significant'. There was no instance where the ancient temple and the Byzantine church were considered as 'not significant'; the past items that were dismissed by the students were the ones not included in the national narrative. The descriptive statistics that refer to the rejection of the past are in Appenix D.

5.7. THE 'BALANCED' APPROACH

(similarities of the 'balanced' approach constructs to Rüsen's "genetic" type)

In Rüsen's typology a central concept is that of "change". The typology starts with the "traditional" and "exemplary" types of historical consciousness: these two types of thinking presuppose a timeless moral code. The "critical" type follows and

underlines the differences between past and present to such a large extent that any continuity between these two entities is broken forever. There is no communication at all between past and present; each individual is 'locked' within a very specific time and space, the space of their own lifetime and the space of their own (cultural) group. Rüsen does not consider the "critical" type to be an "adequate" type of historical consciousness because there is no critical 'narrative' as such and to have any kind of historical consciousness you need to have a narrative. The "critical" account of the past constitutes an anti-narrative or an "anti-story" (Rüsen, 2005: 15 and Rüsen, 2004b: 208). Rüsen referred to his "critical" type as if the latter were the necessary "catalyst" that would help people to disentangle their ideas from traditional perceptions of the past.

The "genetic" type comes to bridge the gap between past and present and this outcome is achieved through change. It is change that ensures the continuance between past and present. The past actually 'survives' in the present because it changes and it doesn't remain static, fixed. It is a dynamic past that adapts to new conditions and in this way it never becomes really old. People can once again refer to it.

I believe that the students who managed to see the differences between past and present in a more balanced way are the ones who are closest to Rüsen's "genetic" type. Actually these students were the ones who were not put off by changes between past and present and did not completely relegate the past to a 'practical' present.

Students exhibited this 'balanced' approach towards the past in the following ways:

• First, they were not 'hostile' towards change and they managed to locate areas of continuance and similarities between past and present. This is the reason why they spoke a lot about *ideology* and *mentalities* that change more slowly or do not change at all. They tended to make comparisons between past and present and sectors of life that change and sectors that don't change. The latter was provoked by the additional questions usually asked at the end of the interview:

Figure 5.4. Questions at the end of the interview.

1) What do you think are the differences and what are the similarities between past and present? or Do you think there are more differences or similarities between past and present?
2) If you woke up one morning and you could remember nothing from the past, what would you do? or What would that mean for your life?
3) In the end is it useful for one to know the past?

> Eleanna[1]: Principles, there are always 'steady'('σταθερές αξίες') principles, not that there are no changes, there are changes, ***but a party cannot change completely,*** a party ought to have kept some things 'steady', there are some principles that do not change no matter how many years have passed.
>
> Petros[2]: ***The [political] party never changes completely,*** some people remain in the party and these people's ideas also remain [the same]
>
> Sonia[3]: The people in a party may change ***but the ideology*** might remain the same ...

• Second, students articulated constructs indicative of 'temporalization' tendencies, they explained how certain sectors of life change according to certain époques:

> Eleanna (as above): I believe that a party changes ***according to the époque,*** today is one thing, ten years later the circumstances are different, the economy of a country will be different, the civilization, the technology, that is to say the parties change according to this, they are having some steady

[1] Eleanna (1203).

[2] Petros (Patissia 1703b).

[3] Sonia (1703a).

> principles and in a way they [the parties] are influenced ***from the 'atmosphere'[1] of each époque,*** what do the people say.
>
> Question: Would Greek political history of the 19th century inform your vote? ... especially the history written by scholars that can be found in a book.
> Panos (0903): I believe that this history included in a book helps us, you understand what happens, we can for example judge Kapodistrias and his policy. I do not know whether Kapodistrias (politician of the 19th century) would continue having centralization tendencies, even after Greece developed, ***but then centralization was needed.***

Third, students distinguished between the different rhythms of change (between slow or rapid changes). The latter construct possibly indicates that students have started thinking "in terms of patterns of change", (Lee, 2005a: 44) and more specifically about the "direction" and "pace[2]" of change. Students made references to the different "pace" of change[3] in other countries, indicative of a perception that the world is not homogenous, that changes do not take place in an identical way. Amalia also referred to different sectors of life as being effected by various changes in rhythm.

> Angela (1703): There is a relationship [between past and present] because there haven't been any big and radical changes, ***Greece is developing slowly ...***
> Interviewer: What you are saying is that there is a relationship between past and present because there are no changes?
> Angela: If we take for example England, history is not important there, because England ***has developed a lot*** since the 19th century, we haven't changed ***that much*** ...

[1] The actual word in Greek was '*κλίμα* εποχής', "climate" of each époque in English.

[2] "Pace" and "direction" of changes as used in Lee (2005: 44).

[3] Angela (1703) referred to England in comparison to Greece and Eleanna (1203) referred to America.

> Kostas (0903): ... the base of a certain party ***cannot change within ten or twenty years.***
>
> Amalia (1203): There are similarities and differences, ***the similarities [between past and present] concern man's mentality,*** differences concern technology, the latter are the differences in economy ...

• There was a different approach among students (two cases only) in relation to the Elgin marbles' task. Students understood the problem in a more relativistic way and they did not react as spontaneously as the others:

> Kostas (0903): If the Parthenon was built in Turkey by the Greeks in the 5th century, and 2000 years had passed from then and we had lost these spaces, we wouldn't be in the position to claim that the marbles are ours, we couldn't demand the marbles or temples to be removed and transferred to Greece.
> Interviewer: So it is the space that is important?
> Kostas: What ought to happen is that, ***everyone should respect the other's monuments...***

5.8. STUDENTS' STANCES TOWARDS THE PAST IN THE 'CHANGE' TASK

The research question in this task was whether students would use the past in order to estimate changes in the future. Four different ways of referring to the past can be discerned in the students' answers:

1. Students use the past, explicitly naming it:

> Interviewer: And how can you tell that technology is really having an impact on other sectors like the wars?
> Anna (3003): ***Because in the past all these things did not exist,*** neither the medicines nor the chemicals that are used for the wars.

> Ioulia (2402a): About changes in mentality ... ***I will also relate it to the past ...*** our grand fathers held a different mentality from us.
>
> Interviewer: Can you justify what you say (she has predicted wars)?
> Marianthi (3003): ***From the recent past*** that wars took place...
>
> Interviewer: You believe that changes will take place in the economy. On what grounds do you predict this?
> Stamatia (2402b): ***From what we have seen so far in history*** people have changed many times in their economic life: there were stock-raising, agrarian societies and we have now passed in electronic economies and we might have other changes in the future, ***if we look in history ...*** man is changing all the time

In total there were eight examples where students used either the word 'past' or the word 'history'.

2. Students referred to historical events or, more generally, to periods of time in the past, although they didn't articulate the word 'past' or 'history'. There were ten examples in total:

> Ioulia (2402a): Possibly changes in technology, because technology keeps developing very fast, and ***we can see the difference between today and thirty and twenty years before,*** even ten years before ...
>
> Dimitra (2602a): We can see the technological discoveries ***in the last thirty years.***
>
> Alexia (0203b): There have been so many changes ***in the last ten years*** till today, so I believe there are also going to be changes in the forthcoming ten years as well.

> Interviewer: Why do you think there are going to be wars?
> Kostas (0903): Because man makes war when there is no food.
> Interviewer: How can you tell?
> Kostas: We make war to discover new natural resources
> Interviewer: And how do you know?
> Kostas: ***It has been proved, the First World War***

3. Students referred implicitly to the past. They actually used an extended present as a past. They actually referred to the present.

> Interviewer: And how can you tell that technology is continuously developing?
> Amalia (1203): ***New medicines are being continuously*** discovered by the experiments conducted.
> Interviewer: When are they conducting the experiments, now?
> Amalia: ***Now, even now, at this very moment, experiments are being conducted*** in several areas in America,

> Sonia (1703a): I believe that changes will basically take place in technology and in some medicines that will be created, I ***see*** technological changes in computers, computers ***are used everywhere now,*** and as for the medicines, medicine ***is developing,*** they ***are starting,*** they ***are finding,*** they have even conducted research about cancer and AIDS ...

> Olina (2702): Human needs become more and more ...
> Interviewer: And how can you tell that?
> Olina: From everyday life.

Thirty-six similar cases were located in sixty transcriptions. Among them there were three students who explicitly and consciously referred to the present.

4. Students justify their predictions in an atemporal way. In this case they usually employ substantive protocols:

> Themos (2402a): I think changes in technology because man is curious, he is always exploring and discovering ...

Five atemporal cases were found.

5.9. CONCLUSION ON THE 'CHANGE' TASK (the 'change' task and the 'recent past' issue)

The fact that the majority of the students used the present to form judgements about the future confirms the findings of the rest of the tasks ('Endorsement' & 'Rejection of the Past' categories). In the other tasks students referred to the recent past as if the recent past constituted the most useful past because it is closest to the present. In this way students felt that their judgement would be safer. Students were not inclined to handle the remote past and draw analogies from it about the present because they tended to see discontinuities between the past and present. Students located continuities between past and present only in the case of 'identity issues'.

5.10. DID STUDENTS FINALLY REFER TO THE PAST? (a comment on the descriptive statistics of Appendix D.).

The analysis of the data in this research suggests that while students made an *unconscious* use of the past they also opted for the *recent* past. The latter tendencies are quantified by tables 1-5 of Appendix D (pages 328-330).

Students seem not to have created a present-past framework that would help them to orientate in the present and the future while referring to the past: on the contrary they seem to need of being asked directly about the past in order to express their endorsement of the past (tables 1 and 2). In other words, students seem to be restricted within a present perspective. Students' *presentist* perspective is also expressed by tables 4 and 5 of Appenix D: students seem to be more inclined to 'endorse' the recent past which is more close to the present and 'reject' the remote past of the political parties and the 19th century past. Table 3 in Appendix D supports the findings above as students are actually making use of the present in a case where they should use the past (table 3 refers to the 'change' task).

Chapter 6. The Context of the Analysis; the Greek Narrative

6.1. INTRODUCTION

This chapter discusses students' responses to the fourth task, the 'narration of Greek history'. The issue is whether students have a framework for their national history ('the Greek official narrative') and to what extent and in which ways this framework intervened in students' thoughts when they were trying to respond to the rest of the tasks. Before presenting the findings in relation to the 'narration of Greek history' task (parts 6.2-6.4) a synopsis of the findings in relation to the first three tasks is given in this introduction; the latter synopsis also includes a description of the relationship between the 'Greek narration task' and the other three tasks of the study.

- Overview of the tasks — The 'set' concept and internal triangulation

First task: the past that students find 'relevant' to their lives, the 'useful' past

The first task given to the students comprised three different problems/issues and the focus of the question was whether there was a particular issue that made the past more 'relevant' to students' lives. It was ascertained that students engaged easily with a past that was familiar, a past that could be easily understood and therefore 'used': an 'identity' past or a recent past.

Second task: the past that students talked about the most, the 'desired' past

The 'preservation' task was actually a 'significance exercise'. Students were called upon to select those buildings that were to be preserved as monuments. Whereas the implicit question in the first task referred to the past's relevance to students' lives, the question of the second task referred to criteria of significance. Students again expressed their inclination towards those 'pasts' that were judged as the most 'important' to them. Students also made explicit connections between these buildings or monuments and their "culture". Certain items were more important because they were a part of the students' culture. Once more students opted for the most familiar past.

On the whole students opted either for the recent past or for 'their' cultural past: the recent past was very similar to the students' present, thus familiar. As one student put

it "the more recent the past the more it shows what one represents now" (Angeliki speaking about politicians, 1703a).

The only remote past that was considered relevant to the tasks was the 'identity past' which also proved to be extremely 'useful'. 'Identity' pasts are also familiar pasts because they constitute "learned" pasts:

> I could no longer ignore the fact that ... the idea of causal connections, time, natural and moral laws, together with the words that went with them had to be *learned* (my emphasis) from other people[1].

The 'identity past' was an uncontested value and the monuments that represented it (the Elgin marbles, the ancient temple and others) were endorsed by the students.

Third task: the 'change' task. Is it the present or the future that matters?

Historical consciousness has to do with people's orientation within the past, present and future. Is it the present or the future that leads us to certain constructs about the past? Koselleck (in Zammito, 2004: 128) concludes that human agents act depending on the experience of a past that they remember and their expectations for the future. This references Oakeshott's definition of the "practical past", this practical past corresponds to an equally 'practical present' which 'evokes future' (Oakeshott, 1983: 13). It seems that current concerns that produce certain attitudes towards the past are actually concerns about the future. These interpretations of human conduct are also corroborated by Rüsen's emphasis on the fact that one's own memory is closely related to future expectations (1993: 85). In this research the question is whether fifteen years old students consciously refer to the past when they have to decide about future action[2].

[1] Elias (in Chartier, 1997: 117)

[2] The 'change' task demanded from the students to 'predict' those changes that might affect most their lives in the next thirty years. Students also ought to explain why the specific changes might be considered as the most probable.

Most of the students who participated in this research did not explicitly refer to the past. They usually justified their options on the grounds that tendencies for certain changes can be easily discerned "now" (which would imply a repetition of these changes in the future). I think that the students' present ("now") functions here as a recent past and this is the reason why I codified these answers as 'implicit reference to the past'.

From this point of view the 'change' task findings corroborate the findings of the first two tasks (the three issues task and the preservation task). Students seem to be extremely consistent when selecting their most familiar past. The most familiar past is either the 'cultural or identity' past or the most recent past. These types of past both have the advantage of being recognizable in the present. The 'cultural' past through the continuance of some group identity and the recent past because of its similarity to the present.

Fourth task: The Greek narrative task

Students were asked to give a brief account of the history of Greece or of the Greek people. It was thought interesting to see whether a certain 'content' version of Greek history (the one taught in schools) intervened in the students' everyday lives. Would students use the Greek narrative when dealing with the three issues task since these three issues ('environment', 'Elgin marbles' and the 'vote') simulate real life problems?

The analysis conducted indicated that students do really have a clear framework for their national history. Moreover, this framework did influence students' thinking in some of the other tasks and when they were not directly asked to produce a Greek narrative. The important thing is that the influence of the Greek narrative mostly took place in the 'cultural' tasks: so students evoked the Greek narrative in the Elgin marbles task and in the preservation task when justifying their selections of the 5th century temple, the Byzantine church and the poet's house. In those cases students gave a narration of their national history (Appendix E, p. 331).

On the whole I found that the four tasks resolved themselves through a process of "internal triangulation" (Lee et al, 1998: 229). Students made cultural selections in

the three issues task (environment, Elgin marbles, vote) selections that were repeated in the preservation task. These selections can be understood more clearly in the narrative task because the Greek narrative provides the cultural context in which students live. In addition the 'change' task confirms students' attachment to the recent past.

6.2. THE GREEK NARRATIVE IN THIS STUDY

6.2.1. The 'Greek Narrative' as a "cultural tool"

Students used the national narrative as a 'past framework', thus the narrative functioned as a "cultural tool" (Wertsch, 2000: 40). The Greek narrative helped the students to identify continuities between past and present but in a very selective way; the narrative contributed to the students' making sense of the problems tasks they had to solve but it also guided and "constrained" them.

Vygotsky (Vygotsky ed. 1981 in Wertsch: 164) emphasized that "everything that is cultural is social" and that "people's relations are mediated relations". Students' past perception was mediated by a national narrative which established a certain relationship between them: students belonging to a certain group and having a common identity. Actually, students did adapt "specific narratives" to "(national narrative) templates" (Wertch, 2002: 60) when they were called to narrate the Greek history. Nevertheless, the same schema of Greek history was also evoked indirectly by the other tasks in this research. The latter finding suggests that students' thought was 'shaped' by "practical" concerns: students' awareness of their common identity.

6.2.2. Greek Narrative Task — Main finding: a strong identity constructed in a comparison process

Students were called to narrate briefly their country's history. First, the aim of the specific task was to discover whether Greek students have and use a specific framework for their Greek history. Second, through the Greek narrative task one could explore whether students 'borrowed' their framework from their official school history. The analysis of the task showed that Greek students usually account for their national past in the traditional, official way.

Identities (national or others) can only be located and defined in comparison to other identities; when one attempts to describe the characteristics of a specific personal or collective identity one actually distinguishes it from all the other existing identities. As Lorenz (2001: 4) stated: "... the notion of personal identity or of a *self* presupposes the notion of the *non-self*, and this also holds for the notion of the collective identity".

Greek students in this study when accounting for their past, referred a lot to 'others': the Europeans (or Europe), other ancient peoples (presupposing that the Greek people had been an ancient people), specific time periods (the ancient Roman years, the Byzantine years, the Venetian and the Ottoman Occupation era). When students referred to specific time periods, the reference to others was implicit: for example, when students referred to the Byzantine period they actually *compared* Greek people of today to Greek people of those years. As Lorenz also pointed out (2001: 5) identities are distinguished not only through a process of comparison with other identities, but also through a comparison with their own past: students defined modern Greeks by their relationship to the ancient Greeks. The whole thinking process was underpinned by the belief that Greek people more or less remained the same throughout the ages. The most reflexive students accounted for Greek identity in relativist terms, accounting for similarities or continuities and differences or discontinuities between past and present. Other students just drew an uninterrupted line between past and present.

On the whole, when the students were encouraged to narrate their history, they constructed their identity in comparison to other collective identities or previous periods of time. They conducted a continuous comparison among 'them' and 'others' and among 'them today' and 'them in the past'.

Two main constituents of Greek identity were developed by the students in the Greek narrative task: the first was the ability of the Greek people to survive through wars, revolutions, political turmoil, misfortunes while everything and everyone was against them. The second was the uniqueness of Greek civilization when compared to other civilizations. Thus, the Greek people's gift to the rest of the world, the Greek civilization, formed another theme in students' thought.

The latter two patterns in students' thought complied with relevant patterns in traditional Greek historiography of the 19th century[1]. The latter historiography has often been 'deconstructed' or analysed in a critical, historically contextualized way, but 'critical' historiography does not seem to reach students: "... the structure of national time elaborated over the past two centuries persists in the public use of history and in historical culture" (Liakos, 2001: 40). This is borne out by the findings of this research where the 'national time'[2] of participating students included and foregrounded the ancient period, the period of the Greek war of independence (1821) and the contemporary history of Greece (the 'now', the students' life time). The Byzantine period was rarely included in the students' narrative but this can also be understood in the context of traditional Greek narrative. Additionally, students compared the periods above in relation to Greece's 'development' or Greece's impact on the rest of the world. Students talked a lot about 'dominance' in the international sphere and they were consistent in their tendency to see Greece or other specific countries within the international context. Students seemed to be interested in power relations.

[1] The Greek identity was constructed by a traditional Greek historiography that functioned within the paradigm of the professional but nationalistic and at the same time European (especially German and French) historiography of the 19th century, (Gazi, 2000: 54 -55). The same (nationalistic) logic seems to have been adopted by the historiography of the rest of the Balkan countries (Gazi, 2000). Similar patterns in the construction of specific Balkan national narratives were located by Gazi, who conducted a comparative research in Greek and Romanian historiography, Kitromilides in Rocks and Magdalino, 1998: 30, Sundhaussen in Todorova, 2005: 7 and Mishkova in Todorova, 2005: 273. The latter similarities are owed to similar historical legacies (the Byzantine and the Ottoman past) and to the fact that all the Balkan countries developed their national aspirations within the same period. Most of the authors above, also located differences in the political uses of the past made by the countries in comparison. The latter differences seem to advocate a 'historicized' and 'contextualized' (Todorova, 2005: 9) reading of the Balkan common past.

[2] Students in this research in their narration of Greek history included the ancient period, the war of independence period (1821) and the contemporary period.

6.3. PATTERNS or THEMES[1]

6.3.1. The first pattern

6.3.1.1. First pattern: 'Greece is a country that has suffered but she has managed to get through and continues to exist...'[2].

Students used other similar expressions like:

> '... Greece is like a boat that has been through heavy sea ...', Ioulia, 2402a.

> ' ... Greek history is a history of a state that has been through a lot throughout the centuries', Nikos, 2502a.

> ' ... [Greek history is the history of a country] that has undertaken a lot of struggles in order to gain her freedom, Alexandros, 1703a.

> 'we were a country that we often had wars ...', Angeliki, 1703a.

A total of thirty-three similar patterns (out of a sample of sixty students, whose transcripts were analysed) were located. The Greek people are presented by the students in 'heroic' terms overcoming all obstacles.

The students' description of the Greek people agrees with the traditional and stereotypical picture of the Greeks or of Greece. This picture is supported by traditional historiography and also by several commemorative acts commissioned by the state. Typical examples of these acts include the erection of national monuments and memorial plaques in the public spaces of cities. Monuments and plaques, which commemorate specific 'heroes' and 'significant' events, are used in this way as a means of "concretising" (Ritman - Augustin, 2005: 180) national history. On the other hand ceremonies, speeches delivered on certain commemoration days ('flag' days) and all sorts of purposeful acts directed at the citizens or the people of a certain

[1] "Themes" as in Wertsch, 1998: 88.

[2] Loukas, 2502b.

country, in this case the Greek people, constitute alternative ways in which historical consciousness is formed. No matter how history is taught in specific classrooms by specific teachers, Greek students are still exposed to this type of "subjected" speech (Λεονταρίτης, ed. 1992: 189)[1]. This speech is 'subjected' in the sense that it constitutes specific knowledge that is subjected to a specific state logic; despite its commemorative function, this kind of speech does not actually refer to the past but to the present and the future of a specific group of people.

In summary, it is not surprising that students' constructs contain patterns that belong to the traditional Greek national narrative, since this narrative serves to promote the notion of an historical entity, that of Greece or of the Greek people, an entity that acts as a heroic and extremely active historical agent. In order to present the 'Greece is a country that has suffered but she has managed to get through and continues to exist ...' pattern more clearly, I will investigate one by one what I have discerned to be the pattern's three different elements.

- 'Greece is ***a country*** ...' the element of the Greek people or of Greece acting as a hero in different historical periods.

- '... that has ***suffered*** ...' the element of pain or struggles and the implicit thought of the people that provoked these sufferings (the cause of the sufferings). This can evolve in another construct the "many people want to dominate us" pattern. It denotes the 'others' in the process of defining the Greek people.

- '... but ***she has managed*** to get through and continues to exist ...' the element of 'resistance' or 'progress' despite all the sufferings above, despite all the 'others'.

[1] Leondaritis G. (1990, ed. 1992): *The Symbolism of Panegyric Speeches and History.* The actual Greek word was 'υποτελής' and Leondaritis pointed out that the expression "subjected knowledge" is indebted to Foucault. The Leondaritis text itself functioned as a panegyric, commemorative speech, delivered in 1990 on the flag day of the 28th of October (Greece's participation in the 2nd World War) at the University of Athens.

6.3.1.2. The three elements of the first pattern

- First element: the Greek people

(The continuity and the homogeneity of the Greek people though history)

Greek students do not refer to Greece in an abstract way, rather they tend to personify the country: some students say "we", others refer to the history of Greece and most of the students refer to Greece itself. The country as a whole assumes the status of a hero. On the other hand, "Hero worship, in a sense, is premised upon fictionalisation, entailing the ascription of extraordinary or even superhuman traits and accomplishments" (Karakasidou, 2005: 205). An extraordinary trait ascribed to the Greek people is its 'continuity' through the ages. The Greek people, as described by the students', may progress or decline but their substance does not change.

I quote below two students' complete answers which I believe are indicative of students' thought processes.

Question: Narrate briefly Greece's history

Figure 6.1. Nikos.

Nikos, 2502a	'themes'
Nikos: I would ***start from the mythology, from the ancient years,*** how Greece was created in mythology, then I would go to ***the ancient Greek civilization*** which is … as a matter of fact this is ***how we are known to the other people …***	• myths about the origin. • antiquity. • the 'others', comparison and the sense that what we are is also what the others see in us. • continuity because what the 'other people' know about us 'now' is our past 'then', they know us from our past, we are the same people.
Interviewer: About the ancient Greek civilization … Nikos: Yes, I would emphasize the ancient Greek civilization, because this is the reason why the tourists come, but then I would continue with the ***Byzantine art and Byzantium***	• the Byzantine era is included in the history he is called to produce
Interviewer: Byzantium, why? Nikos: Byzantium is ***THE religious period,*** so I would also give emphasis to Byzantium and I would then refer to the Ottoman occupation period …	• ***"THE":*** the religious period and not 'a' religious period, he means that Byzantine period is 'our' religious period.
Interviewer: And why would the Ottoman occupation period be important? Nikos: Because this is the war that made ***Greece stay behind if compared to the rest of the European world,*** then, I would go to the modern history, to the German Occupation …	• comparison with others. • stereotypes about the Ottoman occupation period.
Interviewer: so far If you had to give a theme about Greek history, what that would be? Nikos: Greek history is a history of a state that has been through a lot throughout the centuries.	• the main theme of the narrative, a type of conclusion.

Figure 6.2. Kostas.

(1) **(Kostas 0903)**	**'themes'**
… the Helladic ('Ελλαδικός') space, where it is (he means geography) has given ***us*** the possibility to develop ***since the ancient years,*** development means money. Money brings civilization. The Parthenon took money to be constructed. Anything to be realized presupposes high educational and living standards, living and educational standards are interconnected. A man that hasn't got anything to eat cannot think about politics. That had as a consequence the development of ***the cultural heritage,*** cultural heritage ***is also an international heritage*** … they [ancient Greeks] also managed to prevail in shipping as well … anywhere. ***We continued,*** there was the Roman occupation, ***but we managed to influence them,*** they conquered us and (he continues with no interruption) ***we conquered them with our civilization,*** (he continues with no interruption)	• ***"us"***: complete identification with the ancient Greeks • ***"since the ancient years"***: antiquity included in the national narrative • the "cultural heritage" motto • ***"international"***: the 'cultural influence or offer of Greece to the rest of the world' motto • ***"We"***: identification with those then • ***"We continued"***: the same people? • ***"we managed":*** the 'cultural influence or offer of Greece to the rest of the world' motto. There is constant comparison in relation to who is most powerful or influential. • ***"We conquered them with our civilization";*** another typical plot that can belong to the Greek narrative, he means: they have been more powerful, still we conquered them culturally.

Figure 6.2. Kostas. (continued)

(2) (Kostas 0903)	'themes'
the Byzantine Empire, I take it [the empire] ***as a decline*** ('πισωγύρισμα') I think that all the empires constitute a decline, because ***in the 5th century WE*** (my emphasis) ***had democracy,*** so there was a decline in the Byzantine Empire because of the kings (he means emperors) and because of the church and its power, and ***we*** reach ***the Ottoman occupation period*** and after the liberation in the revolution of 1821. Then it begins … it is ***our*** history, the history of modern Greece ***… the modern history.*** This is when independence begins. Of course there is also dependence … all the states are dependent, even America …	•**Byzantine period: a decline.** For Kostas the Byzantine period is not included in the national narrative. He also adopts a stereotypical view of ancient Athens (democracy). A comparison process again between different periods of time, a propensity for antiquity. • ***"the Ottoman occupation period":*** no comment about the Ottoman occupation period.
Well as far as Greece is concerned it is a great achievement that she stands where she stands now.	•Conclusion: if one thinks of what Greece has been through so far it is an achievement that we are in the present position; optimistic and progressive pattern.
(later) Kostas: … but our geographical position, because we are at the crossroads of three different continents, ***ALWAYS***, that gave ***us*** the possibility to develop ***but there have ALWAYS been people wanting to conquer us. We have ALWAYS been fewer still we always won. We always proceeded***	•***"always":*** continuity in time in relation to a specific subject ***"us"*** • the ***"all against us"*** pattern • no matter what the circumstances we have always been good/clever/skilful and most important, we have always been *the same.*

Figure 6.2. Kostas. (continued)

(3) **(Kostas 0903)**	**'themes'**
Interviewer: now? Kostas: as Greece? … there is public debt. All the countries of course have public debt, we are dependent on others, this should be expected, ***first because we are small,*** second because we are not living alone, this is not a Cycladic civilization, a self-sufficient community, each country depends on the others. Interviewer: in the end what can you tell about Greek history as a whole? Are we overcoming difficulties? Antonis: we are overcoming difficulties, but there are always elements left over from the past, ***we will never get rid completely of the Ottoman era.***	• the ***"all against us"*** pattern in another version • another traditional narrative stereotype about the Ottoman era

Despite the differences between them, Nikos and Kostas speak about Greece implying that there is linear (uninterrupted) continuity between the country's past and the country's present. Nikos included in his narrative one historical period after the other (mythological, ancient, Byzantine, the Ottoman occupation period and the German occupation period). He proceeded in a linear way to sum up that Greece has been through a lot throughout the several centuries (presumably the centuries he had just talked about, the periods he had just referred to).

In contrast Kostas developed an entire theory. He created a Greek 'story' from a specific angle: space. Across the centuries, from ancient Greece until now, Greece's space (position) has always been important. Kostas offered a geopolitical analysis of the Greek situation. On the whole his theory makes sense but he overemphasized the fact of continuity: the significance of a certain geographical location changes from

time to time but throughout his narration Kostas kept the notion of an enviable Greek geographical place, from the ancient years till now.

Nevertheless the implicit (or explicit) continuity of a specific state of affairs (Greece occupying a difficult, political position because of her advantageous location among three continents) is denoted by Kostas' speech through the repetition of the adverb "always" and the confident use of "we" to identify the main protagonist of his story: the Greek people then and now. For example: "Space has given ***us*** the possibility...", "***We*** continued...", "***We*** managed...", "***We*** conquered", "***We*** reach...", "there have ***always*** been people wanting to conquer ***us***". Despite the sophisticated way he handled it, Kostas' predilection for the notion of continuity, a common theme in the national narrative, is very important because he often adopted nonconformist positions, as in the Elgin marbles task:

> Kostas: I agree that we must insist [on the Elgin' marbles return to Greece], because the marbles, anything about them is ours, it has been created by us and more specifically in the 5th century. ***It constitutes a part of the Parthenon temple*** and no one has the right to take it ... today there are buildings in China, in Italy, in Egypt that belong to Greece since when Greece was expanded. ***I believe that these buildings belong to the state in which they are now. If the Parthenon was in Turkey,*** if Parthenon was built in Turkey by the Greeks in the 5th century, and 2000 years had passed from then and we had lost these spaces, we wouldn't be in the position to claim that the marbles are ours, we couldn't demand that the marbles or temples be removed and transferred to Greece.

Kostas' assessment of a particular situation took into account the current political climate. For example, Greece is now an independent state and the Parthenon, from where the marbles were extracted, happens to be in this state. Kostas concluded that any decorative items, such as the marbles, ultimately belong to the temple from which they have been taken. Thus the marbles should be returned to the temple and not to the Greek people (who would be seen as a continuity of the ancient Greek people). Kostas' theory was not a common one among students' theories about the

Elgin' marbles. But, although Kostas proved to be highly critical in the Elgin marbles task, when asked about Greece's history his speech was underpinned by the same theoretical implications as that of his classmates and, in particular, the notion of continuity.

Out of the sixty analysed transcripts there was only one instance of a student who challenged the notion of the uninterrupted continuity of the Greek people through history:

> Panos: I would like to disagree with Alexis who speaks about Greece and says "we were", he should say "Greece is"[1], he should use the third person [he/she] because we are not related, the ones that did all these things, they were other people. Greece is a country. Its people may be different from time to time. We cannot claim that we made the Parthenon, they made the Parthenon.
>
> (later)
>
> Panos: ... we are staying in the same space, but we cannot claim that we made them [the marbles], they made them. What connects us [with the ancient Greeks] is Greece itself. We are Greeks too but what connects us with them is the Helladic space (ελλαδικός χώρος) ...

- Second element: the 'others'

(Those that create suffering or the "many people who want to dominate us" pattern)

The "many people want to dominate us" pattern makes Greece appear, if not as a victim, then at least as a country whose people historically have received a lot of injustice. There are two reasons or at least two students' theories about this unfortunate situation: first, Greece had an enviable geographical position that

[1] It is true that when Panos himself was called to narrate Greek history he made use of the third person and he spoke about Greece and not 'we'.

'others' wanted; second, Greece is such a small country and there are so few Greeks — "we are small"— Kostas says in his interview[1], that any war against Greece could not be judged as anything but unfair.

Some typical excerpts include:

> Chrysa (2502a): ... [Greece] had had hard times because it wanted to become ... because ***many people - because of its geographical position - many people wanted to dominate Greece ...***
>
> Marianthi (3003): Greece even though a small country, ***occupies a crucial*** (in Greek: "καίρια") ***geographical location, that is why there are many rivals,*** and despite the fact that these people (the rivals) are in a way seeking to ***deceive*** her, she always manages to get away with these 'ups and downs',
>
> Alexis (0903): Greek people always fought, ***we have always been few*** and we fought against a lot [of enemies].

A total of ten students developed the "many people want to dominate us" pattern which appeared as in the examples above (either in the "geographical position" version or in the "we are few" version). But all thirty-three students[2] (out of the sixty whose transcripts have been analysed) implicitly referred to the same idea: the students who emphasized the fact that Greece had always been at war believed that this situation had been unfair and, of course, exceptional. Ultimately the ten students who underlined the issue of injustice (enviable geographical location, other peoples against Greece) and the twenty-three students who highlighted Greek heroism were in agreement, all that separated them was a slight difference in emphasis.

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[1] Kostas (0903).

[2] Thirty-three students made use of the more general 'Greece is a country that has suffered but she managed to get through and continues to exist...' construct. The construct made it seem as though Greek people were continuously in a war situation. Ten students out of these thirty-three added the reason why this was so: Greece had an enviable geographical position that other peoples coveted.

The idea of 'conspiracies' against Greece and even the 'victimization' of the Greek people is also supported by critical analysis of the national narratives of other countries and by empirical findings. Mishkova in her analysis of the Serbian and Romanian national narratives found similar constitutive elements of what she called the "national idea". Mishkova (2005: 273) included the "foreign conspiracies" theme in the "founding myths" of several nations.

Significantly, Frangoudaki and Dragona, in seeking to explain Greek students' "ethnocentric attitude" (1997: A 307) concluded that this ethnocentrism is fostered by Greek history textbooks, since these present Greece as a victim of other countries' interventions. In this way negative events in which the Greek people have participated (their political responsibility) are elided because they are judged to be unpleasant. Frangoudaki and Dragona made these remarks because some of the empirical findings about the Greek students who participated in the Youth and History survey in 1994, were similar to the findings of this research.

The "many people want to dominate us" pattern appeared in several cases in this research and could have been an echo of more than one type of historiography. When the heroic pattern of a nation-hero "endlessly resisting against aggressors" (Frangoudaki and Dragona, 1997: A 307) appears, we have an echo of the traditional historiography of the 19th century which uses several founding myths. In this respect the whole Ottoman occupation period for the Greek students in this study was nothing but a big 'accident' or a conspiracy against the Greek people that prevented them from developing[1]. History seems to be endlessly unfair to the Greek people and the students of this research made much of this idea, because "the many people want to dominate us" pattern was so strong; a 'strong' pattern in the sense that it appeared often and in many different guises.

In the main the excerpts I examined in this section are those that refer to Greece's enviable geographical position, a position that foreign powers seek to exploit. The same excerpts could generate a whole cluster of other theories where, for example,

[1] Chrysa (2502a): ... the Turks leaving the country (she means Greece) left a state that was a lot behind in relation to the Western movements and the civilization, a state in decline ...

the Greek people are still the victims but the aggressors could be the "imperialists"[1]. This could be interpreted as a Marxist reading of Greek history as Liakos suggested (2001: 39) denoting a shift in Greek historiography. The excerpts of students' speech below could represent another reading of history beyond the traditional and nationalistic:

> Kostas (0903): This is when the ***independence*** begins [after the liberation war of 1821]. Of course there is also ***dependence*** ... all the states are ***dependent***, even America ... we are dependent on others, this should be expected, ***first because we are small ...***
>
> Panos (0903): Money is everything, and everything is a chain, if Greece had been ***self-sufficient,*** Greece would have a better ***economy*** (there is implicit reference to 'development' here) if Greece's economy was better sciences would also develop, if sciences developed, Greece would be ***higher*** as a country (θα ανέβαινε σα χώρα) and in this case Greece would be more ***powerful.***
>
> Alexis (0903): ... not with ours ... we haven't developed with our own ***powers*** ... Greece is in debt, we are a country depending on ***other powers,*** Greek space is being ***exploited by other powers...***

The students' vocabulary tends to be 'economic': "money", "self-sufficiency", "dependence", "independence" and various power relations are involved. This reading is different from the traditional one. There has been much historiography that analyses Greece's position as that of a country of the periphery and this vocabulary of economics and power-relations is reminiscent of that literature. Basic cognitive moves or implicit thought remained the same even when the historical question or

[1] Students never actually used the word imperialists. This is my reading of the interviews. Frangoudaki and Dragona also commented on the change in the content of Greek history books in the 1980s (Frangoudaki and Dragona, 1997: A 307) because of the socialist government.

angle changed: Greece has been a victim and history has basically been unfair to Greece[1].

At this point one may again return to Rüsen and his analysis of ethnocentrism. In his article Rüsen gave an account of what he called an "unbalanced relationship between good and evil" (2004a:122) which, according to him, is another characteristic of the ethnocentric historical thinking. Within this context the 'others' are always to blame for what is happening to 'us', 'we' are the victims and the 'others' carry the full responsibility for 'our' misfortunes. When students emphasize the 'interventions' and the 'invasions' and the 'occupations that didn't let us develop', or the 'continuous wars' situation, they seem to be adopting a similar stance. As Penelope (2602b) put it:

> Penelope: Well, I do not know the histories of the other peoples but I believe that ***we are having the fairest history*** [in the world?].

- Second element: the 'civil war'

There is a kind of fatalism in this pattern: Greeks cannot help fighting each other so this constitutes an almost innate element of their national character and worse as Eleanna (1203) said:

> ' ... but Greece has also been in civil wars, a fact that has made the country to go down and then up, because if only we had not made some mistakes, we, as Greeks, mistakes irrelevant to the wars with the other peoples, or the conquerors we have had for many years, ***we would have reached even higher ...'***

Themos (2402a) on the other hand sees a continuous chain of civil wars from the war between Athens and Sparta until now. The pattern concerning civil war is similar to

[1] Liakos (2001) also pointed out that whenever historians, and among them the Marxists, attempted anything other than the traditional readings of Greek history they never quitted the basic schema: ancient, Byzantine, modern history and Greece's presence being continuous and unchanged throughout all these years.

the "many people want to dominate us" pattern because in both cases students do not really show reflexivity despite the national 'criticism'[1] they exercise. They speak of the civil wars as of elements of historical injustice. Another interesting point could be students' belief in the existence of a 'national character'[2] that has been the same from ancient times till now: this idea refers equally to the Greek people's tendency to become involved in civil wars and their tendency to resist misfortunes and overcome obstacles; the construct about the Greek people's resisting 'force' constitutes the next, 'third', element of the first pattern.

- Third element: 'resistance' and 'progress'

The three main patterns here are:

1) The Greek people being exceptionally revolutionary:

> Angela (1703): We are revolutionary people.

2) The Greek people loving freedom:

> Anastasia (0203a): Greece always continues fighting for her freedom and she will ***always*** do.
>
> Sonia (1703a): The Greek people ***always*** want to be free

3) The Greek people always making progress

> Kostas (0903): We ***always*** won, we ***always*** proceeded.

The last pattern completes the story: all the Greeks act together as if they were united as one to confront all possible enemies and, almost like a physical force, proceed indeterminately through history. The latter construct reminds us of Wertsch's discussion of the "triumph-over-alien-forces" schematic narrative template persistently found in the Russian, Soviet and post-Soviet historiography. As Wertsch points out, the interesting point in the Russian case is the persistence and the

[1] For example the "mistakes", Eleanna, above.

[2] See Lowenthal, 1998: 140, who sees in 'national characteristics' another type of "conflation" between past and present.

"flexibility" of the latter template (Wertsch, 2001b: 3): while the enemies repeatedly change the template in form, the basic plot remains the same. The enemy seems to be changing in the Greek case too and even within the context of a Marxist reading of Greek history. For example, Liakos referred to the "foreign intervention" pattern that surfaced among Greek people and dominated 'anti-imperialist' political speech in the 1980s (Liakos, 2001: 39). Koulouri also offers an interesting insight in the way certain 'enemies' appear and disappear in Greek history textbooks depending on foreign and domestic Greece's politics (Κουλούρη, 1996: 150[1]). The 'resistance' pattern, a pattern that applies both to aggressors but also to other cultures, has also been discussed by Avdela (2000) in her account of Greek textbooks. Greek people seem to resist not only physical aggressors but also possess the unique ability to avoid cultural assimilation.

The "freedom" pattern, or the "we are a revolutionary people" pattern is reminiscent of Lowenthal's discussion of 'heritage' (1998: 192) and the way that the latter is seen to possess an innate quality. In the same way students in this study spoke about traits of their 'national' character almost as if these traits were natural: apart from the "freedom" pattern and the "revolutionary people" pattern, they also referred to Greeks as not being able to benefit from their mistakes (Kyriaki, 1203). Once again this is a generalization that refers to the whole of the Greek people as if they were a single entity.

6.3.2. The second pattern

Second pattern: the uniqueness of the Greek civilization. The two elements of the second pattern

- First element: the theme of 'civilization' or 'culture' in the Greek narrative

> Amalia (1203): And it is a country with a tradition and a history ***that you don't meet in*** Europe and in the whole world.

[1] Koulouri, C. (1996): Fanatism, Dogmatism, the Construction of Identity, an Approach to the History Textbooks Discourse, *Mnemon*, 18: 143-156, my translation of the title.

> Marianthi (3003): Greek history is a history ***that constitutes the foundation of the European civilization.*** It is the history of a civilization ***that set the example for other civilizations*** to develop, especially in ***Europe*** and in the ***western*** world …
>
> Maria (2402b): [Greek history] is the history of a country that has ***offered*** a lot to the world by her ***civilization.***
>
> Stavros (2502b): ***Greece was the first to develop civilization … the western civilization*** which was transferred to America was ***based,*** with some alterations, on Greek civilization; wherever you look in the world you will find Greek elements …

The comments above are only some of the twenty-eight students'[1] excerpts that displayed the 'a country that has offered a lot to the world through her civilization' pattern. One ought also to take into consideration all those excerpts that include elements or constituents of the Greek narrative that were not part of the 'Greek narrative' task responses, like:

> Lambros (1703b): [I select the 5thcentury BC temple] because it shows ***that the Greeks were the ones that initiated history,*** there were many European civilizations that were based on the Greek civilization.

and

> Alexis (0903): (about the Elgin marbles) … [we have to insist on their coming back] because they are ours, they constitute an element of the civilization we had developed years ago ***when we were pioneers in Europe*** …

Once again the same idea is expressed, as that expressed in other tasks like the 'preservation task' where students opted either for the 5th century BC temple or the Byzantine church and the Elgin marbles' task where students had to justify why the

[1] Sixty transcripts have been analysed.

Elgin marbles should be returned. In total ten excerpts about the uniqueness of the Greek civilization were provoked by the Elgin marbles task and the 'preservation task'. Thirty-five excerpts referred to the uniqueness of the Greek civilization or to the gift of Greek civilization to Europe and/or the western world. Furthermore, the most frequent justification that students gave for their endorsement of the past was "culture".[1] Consequently, it is necessary to account first for this emphasis on culture and second, for the students' emphasis on the uniqueness of their culture. Additionally it is important to account for the students' predilection for ancient Greek classical culture.

In order to understand these matters it is necessary to give serious consideration to the development of the national narrative in Greece in the 19th century. The inclusion of "culture" in the national narrative and the "cultural continuity" of the Greek people are relevant to the conditions within which the uprising against the Turks took place in 1821 and subsequently led to the establishment of the Greek state. The emphasis on culture is also related to the role of Greek intellectuals in the organizing of the revolution; and also relevant to the choices these intellectuals made in deciding upon the state-model that Greece would follow after the revolution.

The idea of the nation-state or of the state-nation as a political and administrative entity that would include people of the same culture was developed in Western Europe in the 18th and 19th century (Woolf, 1995: 27, Gr. ed.). The Enlightenment movement (18th century) focused particularly on the idea of knowledge and education: through education intellectual and political emancipation would be enhanced both on an individual level but also across nations. The Enlightenment movement also looked to classical heritage for its humanistic values and idealized the ancient Athenian democracy (Gazi, 2000: 59).

For all the these reasons European culture of the time was endorsed by Greek intellectuals who were then living and studying in several European capitals and who were eager for a political change in Greece. The Greek Enlightenment

[1] Even when students did not emphasize their culture's uniqueness in comparison with other cultures (the pattern under discussion that was located in the Greek narrative task) they still justified their decision to preserve the past on the grounds that it constituted part of their culture. Similar justifications also appeared in the pilot interviews conducted in April 2003.

movement built on the ideas of the European Enlightenment and much work was to be done by the Greek intellectuals on two fronts. First, an infrastructure (schools, books) was to be created in order for the Greek people who lived under the Ottoman rule to acquire national consciousness. Second, modern Greece had to be presented to the Europeans as the natural heir to the ancient Greek legacy. At the same time Europe was to be presented to the Greeks as a desirable model of life, culture and development (Kitromilides, 1995: 3).

What bound Greece to Europe at that time was the ancient Greek legacy and the prerequisite for the existence of this bond was the cultural continuity between ancient and modern Greece. As Herzfeld (1987: 53) has shown in his book there was a mutual exchange between Greece and Europe in the 19th century:

> If the European heritage was truly grounded in Greek philosophy and art, the Greeks of today argued, they had an ancestral, participatory right to the new modernity. As Greeks first and foremost, they were also Europeans.

In other words Greece was supposed to function as "the past of Europe" in a way that she could claim a place in "modern Europe"[1]. The whole 'scenario' of the cultural and political exchanges between Greece and Europe is described by Nikos in the following excerpt; in his comments Nikos exposes elements of the national narrative and also details of the national narratives' construction:

> Nikos (2702): I select the 5th century temple because it has a very long history, that is to say 2500 years and ***because the ancient Greek civilization was very important, and we are now based on it*** through the French revolution, the

[1] Unfortunately the 'agreement' didn't function in the same way for Greece and Europe: while Greece endorsed European culture to a high degree, Europeans never really saw Greece participating in Europe's present; Greece could only be the past of Europe and as Herzfeld put it, Greeks functioned as a type of 'aboriginal Europeans' (Herzfeld, 1987: 49).There have been many excerpts where students complain about dependence on Europe, the West, the Great Powers: ***'as soon as independence*** (from the Turks) ***began, dependence*** (on Europe) ***also began'***, Evgenia 1404 (pilot study). Students' comments on Greece's dependence can also be read in this way.

> Enlightenment and the Renaissance whose roots had been in the ancient Greek civilization, mostly in Athens.

Now one can read with a better understanding the responses already quoted [1] (Amalia, Marianthi, Maria and Stavros) that explain the pattern "a country that has *offered* a lot to the world by her *civilization*": the Greek national narrative had to emphasize culture because Greece in the 19th century claimed independence using the rationale of a distinct culture and a distinct language. Greece attempted to impose her inclusion in modern Europe first by underlining Greece's cultural continuity since ancient times; second by emphasizing the position that the ancient legacy held in European and Western culture in general (since in the 19th century Europe had become the touchstone for development) and third by emphasizing Greece's 'gift' of culture to Europe, as Greece had always been considered the cradle of European civilization.

Another pattern, similar to the 'uniqueness of the Greek civilization pattern', is the pattern about the 'influence' that the Greek civilization has exercised on other civilizations: here Greece holds a "defensive stance" (Avdela, 2000: 248) because while she resists other cultures and while her own culture does not seem changed, she culturally "conquers" (students' wording) whoever she meets. This latter characteristic of Greek civilization, where it is never assimilated but always assimilates others, completes the pattern about the uniqueness of the Greek civilization:

> Panos (0903): [Greek history] is the history of a country that managed ***to conquer*** by her science, literature and civilization another country and we mean **Italy.**

> Alexis (0903): Greece, along with China and Egypt, has presented a long time ago an important civilization, that civilization first developed and afterwards was interrupted by Italy, which was then the Roman Empire, Greece ***influenced*** **Italy** by her civilization.

[1] Amalia, Marianthi, Maria, Stavros.

> Panos (0903): ... that had as a consequence the development of ***the cultural heritage,*** cultural heritage ***is also an international heritage*** ... they [ancient Greeks] also managed to prevail in shipping as well ... anywhere. We continued, there was the **Roman** occupation, ***but we managed to influence them,*** they conquered us and ***we conquered them with our civilization ...***

It is possible that the students' construct above about Italy, was based on narratives found in students' textbooks of Roman and Byzantine history. Students' textbook of Roman history has a paragraph-title: "The influence of the Greek civilization on the Romans and the development of civilization in Rome" (Tsaktira, Orphanoudaki and Theochari, 1995: 11). On page 14 it says that: "...with the Roman occupation Greeks lost their political freedom. But Roman occupation didn't touch the roots of Hellenism, it didn't change the Greek way of life, it didn't make the great intellectual and cultural tradition disappear". This belief seems to be encapsulated in the following interview. For example:

> Anna (3003): ... not to say that Greece is the oldest of the all the ancient countries in the world, it has been through a lot of problems and deaths but despite all these ***it has managed to retain many elements of its civilization*** (πολιτισμός).

- Second element: the 'others', a comparison process.

There is constant comparison on the part of the students between Greeks and 'others' and between different periods of time in Greece. The 'others' are not always explicitly referred to: in the 'many people want to dominate us' pattern, for example, it is implied that the others are those who force Greece into war. On the other hand there are some points where students' tendency to compare is clear: the latter case concerns the comparison between ancient Greece and modern Greece or between the East (the Ottoman occupation period) and the West (Europe). There are few references to Byzantium.

Now and Then (Ancient Greece/Modern Greece)

> Interviewer: The modern Greeks, do they have anything to offer?
> Maria (2402b): Well after the Greek revolution ***we don't have as much to offer as the ones in the past,*** because we are still a very small country.
>
> Lambros (1703b): I believe that Greece's history ***has played*** a great role internationally, and that there ***have been*** several other civilizations that depended on Greece for their development.
> Interviewer: Now Greece is not playing any role?
> Lambros: ... ***(Greece) is playing a role but not to the grade she played in the past,*** there were great scientists, brains like Plato and Pythagoras ...
>
> Alexis (0903): We have always been fighting and rebelling against invaders and tyrants, we have always had a liberal spirit ***but recently this liberal spirit was lost and we are not any longer*** the ones to decide (δεν έχουμε πια δική μας κρίση). I don't believe that Greece's government is in Greek hands, we depend on other states economically and politically.
>
> later
>
> Alexis: ***The latest years we have fallen*** (he means: we have declined/έχουμε πέσει).
>
> Aliki (1703b): ***We do not influence*** as many peoples like in the past.

Sometimes the students compared Greece's past with Greece's present after a prompt and other times[1] the students entered a comparison process on their own. The

[1] As in the cases of Lambros, Alexis and Aliki.

excerpts above are particularly interesting because from the point of view of their wording, they represent the 'a country that has offered a lot to the world by her civilization' pattern reversed: Greece is no longer *offering* that much to the world (Marianna), Greece is not *influencing* as many peoples as she did in the past (Aliki) and Greece doesn't seem to hold a spirit for freedom as in the past (Alexis). Even if Greece still had a civilization to offer, people would just not be interested in it because things have changed now. As Panos pointed out:

> Panos (0903): Greece was resisting (σήκωνε κεφάλι) more in the past.
> Interviewer: You are not optimistic?
> Panos: ***Today*** civilization ... ***it is no longer*** ... (he means that civilization today is not important), ***what is important today is money,*** if you don't have money you cannot resist.

The only way out of this downward spiral for modern Greece is, if not to imitate, at least to be inspired by ancient Greece:

> Interviewer: If I asked you to narrate Greek history from 1830 onwards?
> Lambros: It is the history of a country that is developing ... and ***trying to reach the point she was in the past,*** to the highest degree.

Rüsen pointed out that this type of thinking that idealizes one's ancestral past could end in "ethnocentric historical thinking". In this instance people use their ancestral past as the best version of what could have happened in the past and they seek to repeat it. Rüsen named this attitude "teleological continuity" (2004a: 122). The students who participated in this research always included antiquity in their narrative and often sought to compare antiquity with the recent past or present. It was not antiquity itself though that the students sought to repeat, it was the prestige of the classical era that they envied. Students wanted to identify with a prestigious entity like classical antiquity and the latter functioned as a 'touchstone against which they compared everything: Byzantium, Christianity, the Roman and the Ottoman occupation era, modern Greece and implicitly or explicitly other civilizations and

cultures, ancient or contemporary. As Sophia (1703a) put it, "what we now miss is perhaps that glint ('λάμψη') that existed then". The 'others' certainly played a role in the formation of this attitude. In this sense Nikos' transcript is worth citing:

> Nikos: I would start from the mythology, from the ancient years, how Greece was created in mythology, then I would go to ***the ancient Greek civilization*** which is ... as a matter of fact this is ***how we are known to the other people ...***

East (Ottoman Occupation period) and West (Europe)

Figure 6.3. East and West (a comparison).

EAST	WEST
Kostas (0903): We are overcoming difficulties, but there are always elements left-over from the past, ***we will never get rid completely of the Ottoman era*** Interviewer: meaning? Antonis: Regression	Prokopis, (0203b): Greece is a country that has been developing for the last twenty years in a way that ***she can now respond to the European demands***
Aliki (1703b): ... after the four centuries of ***the Ottoman occupation,*** Greece in comparison to the rest of the countries ***lagged behind*** concerning civilization and development	Chrysa (2502a): ... Greece after 1830 made superhuman efforts to catch up ... Interviewer: catch up? Chrysa: ***catch up with the western civilization***
Nikos, (2502a): and I would then refer to the Ottoman occupation period ... Interviewer: And why would the Ottoman occupation period be important? ▶	N: Because this is the war that made ***Greece stay behind if compared to the rest of the European world***
Panos (0903): After the last four hundred years of the Ottoman occupation Greece ***lagged behind*** ... ▶	and we then watch Greece's effort to develop and it is very important what she has accomplished so far ... ***of course Greece never reached Japan*** that after two atomic bombs managed to reach the top, ***or Germany ...***

On the left of Figure 6.3.one can see patterns of rejection, on the right patterns of endorsement. The students who participated in this research adopted two completely

different stances towards the classical and the Ottoman[1] past: they endorsed the classical past and they completely rejected their Ottoman past[2].

The connection between the classical heritage and Greece's inclusion in the west has already been discussed: if the Greeks of the 19th could be seen to be the descendants of ancient Greeks and at the same time heirs to the ancient Greek legacy, they could also be Europeans.

Europe was formally adopted by the Greek intellectuals of the 19th century as a source of inspiration from a cultural and political point of view. Often there was talk of Greece's 'return' to Europe and at the same time of the ancient legacy's return to Greece after a long 'exile'. The Greek intellectuals that advocated Europeanisation claimed that, in this way, Greece would "return" to her "natural" environment and that the Ottoman occupation years constituted an aberration (Varouxakis[3], 1995: 32).These ideas above feature in the national narrative to which Greek students are still exposed.

Empirical data from the Youth and History survey of 1994 corroborate Greek students' pro-Europeanism. Dragona and Frangoudaki (1997: A 421) interpreted this pro-Europeanism as a propensity on the part of the students for identification with a group of states (Europe) that are seen to be powerful and thus prestigious. The

[1] See Petropoulos' discussion about how the Greeks of the 19th century substituted a "dead" classical past for the "living" Ottoman past (Petropoulos, J., 1978, *The Modern Greek State and the Greek Past*).

[2] The latter students' stances towards the antiquity and the Ottoman past are corroborated by the Iliopoulou's survey: the secondary school Greek students who responded to the close questions of the latter study appeared to align with stereotypical statements emphasizing the *resistance* of the Greek people against the Ottoman Empire and the idea that Greece *would have 'excelled'*[2] if the Ottomans had not conquered the Balkans (Ηλιοπούλου, 2002).

[3] Varouxakis also commented (1995: 31) that all this eagerness on the part of the intellectuals to advocate the most appropriate political and cultural environment for Greece, stemmed from the logic of the 19th century that emphasized the cultural character of the institutions: institutions ought to be appropriate for the 'soul' or the 'character' of each separate people. The implicit discussion then was what the 'real' character of the Greek people was: in other words was Greece western or oriental? The reason for this typical 19th century discussion was that at the same time, there had also been anti-European movements and groups in Greece.

students taking part in this research spoke a lot about "reaching" (Panos) Europe or "catching up with Europe" (Chrysa) or "lagging behind Europe" because of the Ottoman occupation. At the same time they seemed worried about the issue of dependence on Europe and the West in general (Kostas[1] and Panos) and they were reflexive about the content and the conditions of development[2] in Greece.

Greek student's rejection of the Ottoman past and their predilection for the west is not unique within the Balkans (Todorova, 2005: 15). Myths need a golden period (the Greek ancient period) and a heroic revival period (the Greek liberation war of 1821). Rejection of the Ottoman period had initially been one of the constitutive elements of the Greek national narrative as the latter was constructed by the Greek intellectuals of the 19th century. As Herzfeld pointed out in his book about the Greek folklore studies, the construction of the Greek narrative which initially had been an intellectual enterprise undertaken by the Greek intellectuals, later acquired the quality of "cultural" experience (Herzfeld, 1982: 7) with the help of folklore. Greek folklorists systematically aggregated all those elements of the peasant culture that could be described as "survivals" of the ancient Greek period. Any elements of recent (from the Ottoman occupation) popular culture that did not fit into the 'continuity' schema were — initially at least — put aside. In this way Greek people were also provided with evidence of their cultural continuity in relation to ancient Greece. Within this context, detachment from the Ottoman past and a description of the eastern or Ottoman legacy as inferior are only to be expected. For Greek students Greece belongs to the west and the Ottomans belonged to the east. The Greek revolution of 1821 'corrected' the imbalance created in 1453 and according to Vasilis (pilot study of April 2003) 1821 constituted a return to normality:

> Vasilis: The 1821 revolution has basically to do with us, of course we have been helped by the Great Powers, in order to construct again a state that used to have great history in the past, so it (revolution of 1821) is very important because we were created again as Greeks, that we weren't, ***so the power of the Ottoman Empire started becoming less, it*** (the

[1] Kostas (0903): ... of course there is also ***dependence*** ... ***because we are small*** ...

[2] Alexis (0903): ... not with ours ... we haven't developed with our own ***powers*** ...

Ottoman Empire) ***came out of Europe and went towards Asia where it existed normally long time ago.***
Interviewer: Do you mean that we approached Europe more?
Vasilis: ***We became part of Europe.***

Byzantium

A strange picture emerges here: students did not generally include Byzantium in the narrative task but they often opted for the preservation of the Byzantine church. Of the sixty students only three students referred to Byzantium (Nikos, Kostas and Orestis below). What is even more interesting is the way in which they chose to refer to Byzantium. Two of them, Kostas and Orestis, were even critical of the role Byzantium played in Greece's history. Kostas perceived Byzantium as a decline and Orestis as a distortion of Greek civilization.

Kostas, (0903): After the Roman occupation there was Byzantine Empire, I take it (the empire) ***as a decline*** ('πισωγύρισμα') I think that all the empires constitute a decline, because ***in the 5th century we had democracy,*** so there was a decline in the Byzantine Empire because of the kings (he means emperors) and because of the church and its power ...

Orestis (26a): Initially we are having ancient Greek civilization, then the Roman that becomes Byzantine ... there we have disturbances ('αναταραχές') and ***distortions*** ('αλλοιώσεις') ***of the Greek civilization*** (when I asked "why" he didn't answer).

Nikos (2502a): But then I would continue with the ***Byzantine art and Byzantium***
Interviewer: Byzantium, why?
Nikos: Byzantium is ***the religion period,*** so I would also give emphasis to Byzantium and I would then refer to the Ottoman occupation period ...

The rest of the students 'skipped' Byzantium as they were narrating Greek history, passing from the ancient years directly to the period of the Ottoman occupation. Thus the pattern that one can see here is a 'revivalism' on the part of the students. They emphasized the ancient Greek period, they detached themselves from the Ottoman occupation period and they finally presented a mixture of 'revival' and 'progress' patterns when speaking about Modern Greek history (see the excerpts on page 234 under the title 'WEST').

One can conclude that despite the fact that the periods of Byzantium and the Ottoman occupation have long ago been appropriated by Greek historiography (Liakos, 2001: 33 and 38 and Gazi, 2000: 67) the students in this study retain allegiance to the 'revival' phase of the Greek national narrative[1]. These findings are corroborated by the recent findings of the Kokkinos et al (2005: 271) survey, where the 12-year-old primary school participating students mentioned the Byzantine period of history as the least popular historical period to study. On the other hand, the secondary school students of the Iliopoulou survey aligned with more 'critical' statements as regards the Byzantine period[2], while they adopted stereotypical — favouring — stances torwards the antiquity (Ηλιοπούλου[3], 2002).

But this is only the picture presented by the narrative task. Students made many more references to Byzantium in the preservation task when they chose to preserve the Byzantine church. In the preservation task fifty students (out of the sixty) opted to preserve the Byzantine church. Students proffered the following justifications:

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[1] Liakos (2001) talked about the 'revival' schema and the 'continuity' schema of Greek historiography. The first schema ignored Byzantium: the Greeks are absent throughout the medieval years and are reborn as a nation after four hundred years of Ottoman occupation. The 'continuity' schema attributed to Byzantium the preservation of the language and religion of the Greek nation, so that the Greek nation never really ceased to exist. The same nation continued to act dynamically in the Ottoman occupation era through the intellectuals of the Greek Enlightenment Movement who prepared the Greek revolution.

[2] The students of the Iliopoulou survey recognized issues of oppression in the Byzantine period.

[3] Iliopoulou, I. (2002): *The History Lesson in the Greek Education. Historical, Pedagogic and Teaching Dimensions*, University of Ioannina, unpublished PhD (a Greek PhD).

1) The "significant civilization" pattern (eleven students): students preserved the Byzantine church because it represents a significant civilization, because it constitutes "a specimen of very old history[1]", because it is a specimen of "the acme that existed then[2]".

> Ioulia (2402a): ... I also opt for the Byzantine church, (she has also chosen the ancient temple) because the Byzantine church represents the Byzantine civilization which is very important. I take the Byzantine civilization as a milestone in history.

2) The "art" pattern (six students): students preserved the church because they appreciated Byzantine art.

> Loukas (2502b): I preserved the Byzantine church because it is a specimen of the Byzantine religious art.

3) The "religion" pattern (eight students): students preserved the church either because it signifies religion or because of the Christian religion.

> Alexia (0203b): I opted for those monuments that are relevant to religion, like the temple and the church, because I believe that religion is a very important factor that influences people a lot, since the old years till now ....

> Nikos (2502a): The Byzantine church is a symbol of the Christian religion.

4) The "part of our nation" pattern or church as 'identity' (A1c, seven students):

> Orestis (2602a): ... because church contributed a lot to the formation of our nation.

However, this same student spoke about the distortion of the Greek civilization in the narrative task.

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[1] Sophia (2402a).

[2] Kyriaki (1203).

6.4. CONCLUSION ON THE GREEK NARRATIVE

The students who participated in this research produced two "[1]narrative themes" which seem to agree with the official Greek narrative as the latter is taught in Greek schools and as it is 'distributed' or endorsed by the Greek society. While the first theme displays the Greek people continuously resisting foreign invasions and cultural assimilation, the second theme focuses on the uniqueness of the Greek culture that has remained intact throughout the ages. Students often used a comparative process in which Greek culture was repeatedly compared to other cultures or where the Greek people' attitudes were compared to foreign attitudes. For example Greek people only participated in defensive and 'fair' wars.

6.5. A NOTE ON THE ANALYSIS ON THE INDIVIDUAL LEVEL

An analysis focusing on complete individual responses was carried out, to make it possible to follow in detail the shifts students made throughout the different tasks. The four specific tasks and, in particular, the first one (the 'three different issues set' task, 'environment'/'vote'/'Elgin Marbles') were designed to detect students' relationship to the past in cases where the problem content was different.

Appendix E sets out the full responses of two students as examples of the variations in stances towards the past made by students: the rationale for the specific students' selection and the suggested interpretations of their answers is to be found among the pages of Appendix E.

[1] "Narrative themes" as used by Wertsch (1998b: 88).

Chapter 7. Conclusion

7.1. A SYNOPSIS OF THE FINDINGS

Key questions that guided this research included:

- Do students refer to the past whenever they face current (political and other) everyday problems?
- Under what circumstances do students refer to the past?
- What kind of past do students refer to?

7.1.1. Do students refer to the past while addressing current (political and other) everyday problems?

Students' reference to the past appeared to be situated in the context of the research procedure. Their answers were dependent on the content and the type of the questions and did not display consistency. Students' performance in the interviews can be described as a process of continuous change.

7.1.2. Under what circumstances do students refer to the past?

Students referred to the past in a selective way; they opted for the past whenever they found the past 'relevant' to their problems and concerns or whenever the past was for some reason 'significant' and 'desired'. Students' 'relevant, significant and desired past' seemed to have been students' *cultural past* and also the *recent past.*

One explanation for this might be that both these two different types of past evoked familiarity to the students: both these two types of past seem to have been similar to the students' present. The latter explanation is based on the justifications which students offered either when they endorsed the past or when they dismissed the past. Typically students endorsed the past because it supplied them with "similar cases" which would guide them in their life in the present. They also endorsed the recent past exactly on the basis of the recent past's similarity to the present. The recent past provided students with solid and safe knowledge about present states of affairs; according to students, things ought not to have changed a lot within a short time span.

On the other hand students used the 'change' justification in order to dismiss the remote past: the remote past ought not to be very helpful in everyday problems because a lot of changes took place between the distant times and now.

The findings above are supported by theoretical and empirical works in the field of psychology, sociology, theory and philosophy of history and finally historiography and political analyses about Greece and Greek historical consciousness.

- Students selected the cultural past.

Students' culturally selective use of the past is supported by Bartlett's work about memory (Bartlett, ed. 1995) and Vygotsky's work about the higher mental functions (Vygotsky, ed. 1981 and 1994). They both emphasized the selective, dynamic, reconstructive and socially dependent function of memory. Bartlett emphasized selectivity and inclination on the part of the individuals for 'memories' or past stories familiar to the individuals' social context. Through the process of "rationalization" individuals reconstruct what they remember retaining those past details that seem to be familiar to them. Vygotsky described the function of memory within the context of the "cultural tools" which individuals use to remember, and commented on the indirect and socially mediated character of memory. Wertsch's (Wertsch, 1998, 2000, 2001b, 2002 and 2003) work on "official narratives"[1] especially informed this research into Greek and students' historical consciousness; students' familiar past was found to be congruent with and likely to be mediated by the official Greek narrative: the latter emphasized the country's ancient classical legacy and the continuity of the Greek people through history, elements that were also located in students' answers.

The works referred to above constitute key psychological research in relation to memory. Halbwachs from the field of sociology (Halbwachs, ed. 1980 and 1992) also commented on the selective and dynamic character of memory, since the latter is situated in people's present concerns. The notion of memory which is continuously reconstructed on the base of present needs reminds us of students' "practical"[2] use of

[1] Wertsch's work on the official narratives was informed by Bartlett's work on "schemas" or "organizing settings", (Bartlett, ed. 1995: 201).

[2] The term "practical past" is owed to Oakeshott (Oakeshott, 1962 and 1983).

the past. Students in this research typically 'selected' the past in order to fulfil present practical needs and very seldom for the past's own sake. Students also appeared to favour a culturally mediated past. The latter finding is also supported by Halbwach's work in relation to the "social frameworks"[1] of memory. In this research the Greek national narrative seems frequently to have functioned as a framework within which students developed their reasoning. The elements of the Greek national narrative and the process of the construction of the Greek narrative have been analysed by contemporary Greek historiography (Gazi, 2000 and Liakos, 2001).

- Students selected the recent past.

Students seem to have found the recent past easier to handle and they also justified their preference on the grounds of recent past's similarities to the present. The above finding is supported by the British empirical works of Lee (Lee, 2002, 2005a) and Shemilt (Shemilt, 1980) on students' perception of empathy in history. In these works students appear to adopt an "everyday empathy" stance towards the people of the past. As Shemilt noticed, in this way, the past is seen by students as "no more than an extension of the present;" (Shemilt, 1980: 24). Lee also talked about students' tendency to "assimilate [past] activities with their own" (Lee, 2005: 48). Lee interpreted the latter students' presentism as a "students' orientation to a particular kind, of past, namely, one able to be understood as the present is understood" (Lee, 2002: 26). The latter analysis supports the findings of this research where students justified their selection of the recent past on the grounds of the recent past's similarities to the present. One could interpret the latter students' responses as if actually they opted for an easier and more intelligible past. Students' predisposition towards a past that would be more familiar to their present and also their "everyday empathy" is also supported by Lowenthal's analysis concerning the contemporary tendency of people explicit to "domesticate" the past by "enlarging" their present (Lowenthal, 1985).

The British empirical research on students' understanding of the concept of change in history (Shemilt, 1980 and Lee, 2002) also supports other findings of this research: British findings seem to match Greek students' notion of changes in history; Greek

[1] Halbwachs, M. (ed. 1992): *On Collective Memory,* The University of Chicago Press.

students seem to perceive changes between past and present as obstacles that prevent them from understanding and therefore using the past. The latter 'construct' was the main justification students offered in order to dismiss the past as not functional within the context of modern needs.

7.1.3. Students' cultural and recent pasts are both "practical" pasts

Students in this research opted for a past which was 'desired', 'significant' and 'relevant' to their problems or their identity, thus students opted for a useful past that would fulfil practical needs. As the analysis has shown most of the categories that were extracted from students' responses seem to be related to students' national and cultural identity.

Figure 7.1. Students endorsed a cultural/"practical" past.

PAST RELEVANT TO 'US'	PAST DESIRED	PAST SIGNIFICANT
students referred to identity	•students found certain past items aesthetically appealing •students found objects of a 'remote' past appealing	students found certain historical themes, past activities or past civilizations important

Students opted for the preservation[1] of ancient Greek, Byzantine and neoclassical monuments and justified their choices on the basis either these latter items exhibited their national identity or that these monuments represented important civilizations.

[1] Preservation task: a road is being constructed and the following will be threatened:

a. A 5th cent. BC temple/**b.** A Neoclassical building of the 19th century

c. A traditional manufacture unit of the 19th century, a 'watermill'

d. A prison that had been used for political prisoners/**e.** A Byzantine church

f. The house of a very important for Greece modern poet

Which ones would you prefer to preserve if you had to select among the above options?

They also found the monuments of the same periods aesthetically appealing. All these three traditions (ancient Greek, Byzantine and neoclassical) are emphasized by the official national narrative. Besides, students in this study actually live in an urban environment which is full of ancient, Byzantine and neoclassical buildings and this is the environment with which students are familiar. Bartlett and the sociocultural school of psychology emphasized the fact that "[the individuals'] interests ... themselves very often have a direct social origin" (Bartlett, 1995: 256). Students made selections on the grounds of familiarity either in a conscientious way or without realizing it; the familiar past according to Oakeshott is the "practical past" (Oakeshott, 1983: 17) and at the same time it constitutes a "given past" (Lee, 2002: 8 and 2004: 138); the cultural, thus familiar past is a given past because it is also an "inherited" past (Oakeshott, 1983: 17) and not a constructed historical past.

On the other hand there were cases where students endorsed the past on the basis that it was not familiar: there were times that students opted for the preservation of the same past monuments (ancient, Byzantine and neoclassical) because the latter items were "old" or because they were "past items". The latter students' attitude might still bear the quality of a "practical past". Both Lowenthal and Halbwachs commented on the nostalgia for the past people develop in order to escape from the every day life problems (Lowenthal, 1998 and Halbwachs, ed. 1992).

In the 'three different issues set' task, where students had to solve different kinds of problems[1], students also functioned selectively and in favour of a given past. However, different categories were elicited from those categories in Figure 7.1. above. Students emphasized the usefulness of certain types of past. The past was endorsed as relevant, but not because it was indicative of students' identity, only because it was functional within the context of present needs. Oakeshott described the latter type of "recollected" or "consulted" past as the past which is recalled whenever it is thought of as being "appropriate" (Oakeshott, 1983: 15-16).

[1] **The 'three different issues set' task (environment, vote, Elgin Marbles)**

- What would you need to know in order to decide whether a new road ought to be constructed [taking under consideration that the environment was to be affected]?
- What would you need to know in order to decide whether Greece should insist on the Elgin marbles' return to Greece?
- What would you need to know in order to vote in the national elections?

Figure 7.2. Students endorsed a useful/ "practical" past.

PAST **RELEVANT** as **USEFUL** •past that teaches (exemplary use of the past) •past that clarifies circumstances •past used as evidence (the recent past)

Students explicitly connected the past to their present needs while they referred to a fixed past very similar to the everyday recent past (Lee, 2005a: 36). The recent past can be 'checked' anytime one would need to and it is also construed as an able witness. Within this context students used the 'past that clarifies circumstances' and the 'past as evidence' in a judicial way in order to decide about current problems. The 'past as evidence' was used as a tester for the students so that they could decide how to vote. The 'past that clarifies present circumstances' was on the other hand used as a touchstone against which the truth about the Elgin marbles would evolve and proper present action could be undertaken.

The 'past that teaches (exemplary use of the past)' is also a fixed, therefore practical past: Rüsen talked about "timeless rules" (Rüsen, 2005: 30) which are supposed to lead one's life in the present. Concrete exemplary cases from a past period are transferred to the present on the basis of "alleged similarities" between past and present (Oakeshott, 1983: 16).

7.1.4. The relation of the main groups of categories to the "historical" past

The previous figures (7.1. and 7.2.) and the 7.1.2. and 7.1.3. sections indicated the kinds of past for which students in this research opted and more specifically the *cultural* and the *recent* past. The latter pasts were interpreted as "practical" and "not historical" pasts in accordance to the distinction between the "historical" past and the "practical" past made by Oakeshott (Oakeshott, 1983: 6). This study also adopted the distinction between the "historical" past and the "fixed" or "given" past made by Lee (Lee, 2005: 33).

Figure 7.3. and section 7.1.4 explore whether students' specific constructs — as these constructs are distributed in various categories — imply reference to a "historical" or "practical" past. Figure 7.3 also suggests certain stances towards 'change' on the part of the students depending on the category to which students' responses are allocated.

Figure 7.3. The category system and its relation to the 'historical' past.

ENDORSEMENT OF THE PAST	**REJECTION OF THE PAST**	**the BALANCED STANCE**
A) Past relevant to identity	**A) Past not relevant to identity**	**The past may inform actions in the present but the past solutions will be adapted to present circumstances**
B) Past relevant to our present problems (useful)	**B) Past not useful**	
STANCES TOWARDS CHANGE		
(Implied continuities and similarities between past & present)	(Implied differences between past & present which prevent us from referring to the past)	(Changes between past & present inform our action)
C) Significant past	**C) Not significant past**	
D) Desired past	**D) Not desired past**	
TYPES of PAST in relation to the discipline of history		
anything: 'fixed, practical' past or 'not fixed, historical' past		

- "Practical past", "historical past" and the first two main groups of categories ('endorsement' and 'rejection' of the past).

As has been shown above, students typically either 'endorsed' the past or 'rejected' the past on merely practical and not historical grounds: in most of the cases they selected a familiar cultural past or a recent past very much similar to their present.

However, there were cases where students chose the past because of the differences the latter bore from the present. In the preservation task students explained that the ancient classical temple, the Byzantine church, the neoclassical building and the 19th century watermill would let one know how the people of those old times lived. Students thought that it would be worthwhile to know about people who were that

"different" from people today while they did not seem to be intimidated by the otherness of the people of the past. If 'doing' history involves "entertain[ing] ideas very different from our own" and "empathizing with ideas we might oppose" (Lee, 2005: 47) then the students of this research seemed to have occasionally participated in a process of critical enquiry. According to Oakeshott the latter process characterizes the use of a "historical past" (Oakeshott, 1983: 33) and in the preservation task students occasionally used a "historical past".

Thus, there is one category from the 'Endorsement' group of categories ('Desired past' cluster) the category D2d, 'Past as different and good to know", where a use of a "historical past" was made by the students.

- "Practical past", "historical past" and the third category (the 'balanced' stance towards the past).

The third type of orientation towards the past as it developed through the data of this research is the 'balanced type'. Only about ten students out of the sixty at some point during the interviews articulated thoughts that could be thought of as 'balanced'. Students who adopted a 'balanced' stance towards the past talked about certain conditions under which they would use the past and on the whole they did not see change as a factor that could prevent them from referring to the past. On the contrary, these students opted for "changing"[1] past attitudes to correspond to present needs, or using the past selectively, "keeping those past elements that can survive today", as Panos[2] put it. They actually tried to 'use' changes between past and present in order to create a "new world" (Rüsen, 2005: 33).

The students who adopted a 'balanced' stance towards the past were the ones that actually adopted a 'balanced' stance towards "change"; Rüsen explains that in the case of a genetic historical consciousness "... at the core procedures to make sense of

[1] "changing" was used by Panos (0903).Panos: "... we have to face [problematic] situations in ways similar to the ones of the past, ***but always with some changes because of the modern époque"***. The "changes" wording was used by Kostas in the same group and Eleanna (1203). Another seven students expressed 'balanced' views about the past implying that the past is not something to be imitated and 'applied' in present conditions.

[2] Panos (0903)

the past lies change itself" (Rüsen, 1993: 74). "Genetic" type people tend to see change as a part of how things develop and not as a drawback; within the latter context students that appeared to adopt a 'balanced' stance towards the past or change in this study could have been close to Rüsen's "genetic" type.

An issue worth exploring would be whether the students who appeared to have adopted 'balanced' stances towards the past in this research, or the "genetic" type people, understand the "historical past" as a historian's inferential construction. Lee and Seixas noticed that Rüsen's typology was not designed to answer questions about students' understanding of the discipline of history. Rüsen's typology offers types of time orientation which imply different substantive ideas about the past, not necessarily second-order ideas (Lee, 2002: 6 and Lee, 2004a: 142, Seixas, 2004: 22).

On the other hand, the "genetically" thinking students of this research appeared to have adopted 'balanced' stances towards the past and recognized that they would need to adapt past attitudes to present needs (actually they seem to have achieved a "temporalization" of values or attitudes). The latter achievement also constitutes a characteristic of 'doing history'. The historian is expected to distinguish between different past and present mentalities and attitudes and additionally to be receptive and understanding of different contemporary points of view. Temporalization of moral values also constitutes a characteristic of Rüsen's "genetic" type (Rüsen, 1993: 83).

Students in this study who adopted a 'balanced' stance in relation to the use of the past, or approached the "genetic' way of thinking, seem to be bearing at least one of the characteristics that a historian would have in his work. The characteristic is the temporalization of morality (Rüsen: 81) since the historian focuses on "showing that what people did in the past makes sense in terms of *their ideas* about the world" (Lee, 2005: 46, my emphasis). Historians can see differences in ideas in different periods of time. "Genetically" thinking people's inclination to accommodate past values to present needs suggests that those people are possibly making use of a historical past.

7.2. PERPLEXITIES AND PARTICULAR FINDINGS

(The relationship of the findings of this research to Rüsen's typology — The 'levels' issue)

Certain types of historical consciousness that evolved from the data of this research resemble the four types of Rüsen's typology of historical consciousness.

Figure 7.4. Rüsen's typology & the categories of this research.

Rüsen	This research
•Traditional	•Past as debt
•Exemplary	•Past/history that teaches (exemplary use of the past)
•Critical	•Past dismissed as not relevant to our problems
•Genetic	•Past as different and good to know ("historical" past)
•Genetic	•Balanced

Nonetheless, the above categories of this research (the right hand column of figure 7.4.) belong to whole thematic clusters of categories. The broader clusters, to which the above categories of this research belong, are shown better in the next analytical figure, 7.5.

Figure 7.5. The categories of this research in their thematic clusters; Rüsen's types.

ENDORSEMENT of the past	**REJECTION of the past**
A)Past relevant to identity	**A) Past is not part of our identity**
A1a) Past as 'debt' ***(Rüsen)***	
A1b) Past that defines us as people	
A1c) (the material past) that asserts/ materializes our national identity	(the material past) that does NOT assert/ materialize our national identity
A1d) Past as ideology	
A2a) Personal past/part of our experiences	
A2b) (the material past) that asserts, materialises a 'lived' experience	
A3) Past as a condition of the present	
B)Past relevant to our problems (useful)	**B) Past as not relevant to our problems**
B1) Past/history that teaches ***(Rüsen)*** (exemplary use of the past)	B1) Things or conditions today are different ***(Rüsen)***
B2) Past that clarifies circumstances	B2) Certain past items can no longer be used
B3) Past as evidence	
C)Significant past	**C) Past not significant enough to be "historical"**
(the material past) which represents significant historical themes, activities, civilizations	C1) Environment is not historic
	C2) Certain events do not constitute history
D) Desired past	**D) Not desired past**
D1) Past aesthetically appealing	D1a) The 'ugly' past
	D1b) The not flattering past
D2) Remote past	D2) The 'easily accessible' past
D2a) Remote as 'old'	D2a) Past not old enough
D2b) Past items that are rare	D2b) Past items that are abundant.
	D2c) Past (information) available from other sources
D2c) (the material past) that materializes 'not experienced' events	
D2d) Past as different and good to know (the "historical" past) ***(Rüsen)***	
BALANCED *(Rüsen)*	

Rüsen's typology describes individual ways of thinking about the past and at the same time types of historiography (Seixas, 2004: 22). Rüsen himself, while having referred to a corpus of empirical research conducted in Germany and within the "Youth and History" project, urged for more empirical work in relation to the development of historical consciousness. His typology offers a development of historical consciousness and moral learning on the basis of different stances towards "change". The individuals that stand at the basis of his cognitive and moral development pyramid do not discern changes between past and present; only the ones that stand at the top of the pyramid 'use' the changes between past and present to orientate within time (Rüsen, 2005: 33). In this way Rüsen "proposes his typology as a hierarchy in terms of cognitive and moral complexity" (Seixas, 2004: 22).

In contrast, the typology which evolved from this research (Figure 7.5.) indicated areas of significance in relation to the past. Students endorsed an 'identity' past, an 'attractive' past', a 'useful' past. On the other hand, while the students' selections above are mainly thematic[1], at the same time they implicitly inform us about cognitive issues in two ways. First, in relation to the students' understanding of the discipline of history, and second in relation to students' possible stances towards time and change as in Rüsen's typology.

In relation to the students' relationship with the discipline of history, the students' use of a culturally mediated 'identity' past and an 'attractive' past, indicate students' predilection for a "practical" and possibly "fixed" past.

In relation to the students' experience of time (or change in time) students seem to have been orientated either to "traditional", "exemplary" and "critical" stances towards the past. Nevertheless, the most common students' stance was the "exemplary" one: as the discussion in chapter five suggested[2] many times the "critical" wording of students' answers actually hid an "exemplary" rationale.

The above "traditional", "exemplary" and "critical" stances towards the past, which are hierarchical in Rüsen's typology, were all discerned within each of the two main

[1] I call students' stances 'thematic' because they indicate areas of interest: students endorsed and preserved the past they considered 'significant'.

[2] Page 177.

clusters of categories of this research (the 'endorsement' cluster and the 'rejection' cluster). Consequently the main attitudes located in this research ('endorsement of the past', 'rejection of the past' and 'balanced stance') do not themselves constitute 'levels': while the 'balanced' stance[1] tends to be closer to Rüsen' "genetic" type or to Nietzsche's "modern" type[2] (thus holding a higher position) there are also excerpts bearing some of the "genetic" type's characteristics within the two other clusters of categories ('endorsement' and 'rejection' of the past).

A relevant example could be the category of the 'remote'[3] past: the interpretation of the responses depended on the context of the students' answers. It was difficult to decide whether students expressed nostalgia for the past, a nostalgia of the type described by Lowenthal (Lowenthal, 1998), or 'disciplinary' concerns about past remains. The nostalgia about old times could be "traditional", while the preservation concern could be an indication of students' sensitivity to the historical past. The latter sensitivity could be included in Rüsen's "genetic" type: people belonging to the "genetic" type tend to historicize past experiences by taking under consideration changes between past and present. In the end, the classification of the students' excerpts which related to the 'remote' past was 'thematic': sophisticated excerpts referring to the preservation of past items comprised a separate category, D2d, 'Past as different and good to know (the "historical" past)'.

Additionally, the 'balanced' type, the third type located in this research, included excerpts that were mainly evoked throughout the discussion about similarities and differences between past and present that took place at the end of the interviews. In this category, the more 'balanced' ideas about the present's and past's relationship were included. Students exhibited reflection and attempted to 'historicize' differences between past and present, seeking to "bestow upon the past another future" (Rüsen, 2005: 33). Students adopted initially a "critical" stance towards the past; having realized changes between past and present, students insisted on seeking "inspiration" (Walsh, 1992: 37) from the past (or in the tradition) but in a more creative way than attempting simply to repeat the past.

[1] The 'balanced' type was the third main category located in this research.

[2] Nietzsche as presented by Seixas and Clark in (Seixas and Clark, 2001).

[3] See category (D2) from the 'Desired past'.

7.3. THE RESEARCH FINDINGS IN CONTEXT – EDUCATIONAL IMPLICATIONS (SUGGESTIONS)

7.3.1. Historical learning and practical life (Types of orientation and types of past)

According to Borries, history textbooks should encourage students' different interpretations of the past and in the end students' different historical and moral orientation. In this way students would be in a position to exploit their "individual space of scope and decision" in relation to their "private and political life"(Von Borries, 2001: 284). Thus Borries emphasized the links between historical learning and practical life as the latter links were also defined by Rüsen: orientation in practical life appears to be a result of time orientation or "historical orientation", while "historical orientation"[1] appears to be the fulfilment of historical learning. In other words, while people's "conscious knowledge"[2] of the past presupposes people's own interpretation of the past, this type of knowledge also has implications for people's practical everyday life.

Lee also referred to Rüsen's emphasis on "lebenspraxis"[3], or history's practical function of orientating people in their life. Lee also focused on the 'quality' of the people's historical orientation and especially on the "kinds of past" people use when they interpret the past (Lee, 2002: 6). As Lee noted, even the people who exhibit the characteristics of Rüsen's "traditional type" of historical consciousness, have also fulfilled their historical orientation[4]. Thus, a good question would be to what extent is people's experience and interpretation of the past informed by the discipline of history (Lee, 2002: 5-6) or by the "historical past" (Oakeshott, 1983)?

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[1] "Historical orientation" is a term used by Rüsen (Rüsen in Von Borries, 2001: 284).

[2] "... things which have happened in time become a matter of conscious knowledge ..." (Rüsen, 1993: 86-87).

[3] "Lebenspraxis" is a Rüsen's term denoting people's "needs for orientation in time" and also the different "functions of existential orientation", (Rüsen in Lee, 2002: 6).

[4] These people are supposed to have fulfilled their "historical orientation" in the wide sense the term is used by Rüsen.

Oakeshott distinguished between the "historical past", which constitutes a product of enquiry and which has to be inferred from the "recorded" evidence, and the "practical past" which is "ready to be recalled" and used in ways that refer exclusively to our "current practical engagements" (Oakeshott, 1983: 27-44). This "ready to be recalled" past may often be the "ancestral past" (Oakeshott, 1983: 17) which we "inherit" from the society in which we live. The "ancestral past" has been the past students mostly made use of in this research. The latter is included in the official national narrative.

7.3.2. The overview of the Greek data — The 'Greek narrative' issue

As the analysis of the students' excerpts in the task of the narration of the Greek history[1] indicated, Greek students exhibited a considerable "mastery" of their national narrative. I adopted the term "mastery" to describe Greek students' performance in the relevant task, also adopting the definition of the term given by Wertsch:

> The mastery of textual resources concerns knowing how to use them. In the case of historical narratives, for example, mastery is reflected in the ability *to recall them at will and to employ them with facility when speaking* (Wertsch, 2002: 119, my emphasis).

Greek students came up with specific "narrative themes"[2] and organized them in similar ways: again in Wertsch's terms, the "narrative organization"[3] was similar in all student excerpts. Student excerpts differed in relation to the length of the text students produced and in relation to the coherence of the story. While the majority produced a specific narrative form, some students just gave the events without always making causal links between them, or without explicitly articulating a 'theory'. But even in the cases of the less coherent narratives the events were the same as in the cases of the more coherent narratives; the agents were also the same and one could also identify the same patterns of significance.

[1] Students were invited "to narrate briefly Greece's history".

[2] 'Narrative themes" as used in Wertsch (Wertsch, 1998: 88).

[3] "Narrative organization" as used in Wertsch (Wertsch, 1998: 89).

To conclude, it seems that the students in this study had mastered a specific narrative form of official history. It might be possible to infer that the latter almost uniform performance of these Greek students is at least partially owed to the Greek education system, and especially to the Greek examination system that imposes: "factual narration, appropriation of a certain ideology, learning by heart" (Kokkinos, 2003: 114, my translation from Greek). The themes located in students' excerpts have also been components of the Greek official narrative; the latter narrative is considered to be a product of the Greek traditional historiography of the 19th century and functions like all the "master narratives"[1] of the 19th century. Thus, the Greek official narrative emphasizes the "cultural specifics of [the] country ... [the Greek] nation ... [the Greek] people", (Rüsen, 2004c).

Students were also in a position to use ideas congruent with their national narrative while articulating arguments about the Elgin marbles' problem[2] and also in other tasks[3]. This might also suggest for the "appropriation"[4] of the Greek narrative by the students because they were asked indirectly: while the specific tasks had the potential of eliciting patterns included in the Greek narrative, the wording of the tasks did not explicitly refer to the Greek narrative; the students in the study used the Greek narrative spontaneously. However, Wertsch includes even this case of people "being able to use historical narratives as a foundation for reasoning", as an indication of the official narrative's "mastery" and not necessarily of the "appropriation" of the specific narrative (Wertsch, 2002: 119).

7.3.3. Affordances of the cultural tools

Adopting the Greek official narrative, in the task of the narration of Greek history, students made use of a "cultural tool", a specific historical narrative. Borrowing from

[1] The term "master narratives" as used by Rüsen in *Historically Speaking* (Rüsen, 2004c, 4(4): 40-42).

[2] "Would you think that Greece should insist on the Elgin marbles' return to Greece?".

[3] The Greek narrative was also used in the cases of the preservation of the ancient 5th century temple, the poet's house and even the 19th century watermill (preservation task of the main data collection).

[4] "Appropriation" according to Wertsch also implies "emotional commitment to the texts involved" (Wertsch, 2002: 120).

Wertsch, Barton included in the "affordances"[1] of historical narratives in relation to education, the sense of *familiarity* that narratives give to students (Barton and Levstik, 2004: 136). Furthermore, Wertsch made the more general claim that "textual information cannot be well understood, let alone remembered, in the absence of narrative organization" (Wertsch, 1998: 86)[2].

Barton also referred to another affordance of the historical narratives in relation to their educational function, the affordance of their *"coherence"* (Barton and Levstik, 2004: 138). The latter coherence seems to be the result of a process of *selection* on the part of the historian (Barton and Levstik, 2004: 137[3]; Lee, 2005: 60).

This selectivity and the consequent coherence of the historical narratives relates not only to historical narratives as educational tools but also to the discipline of history: "... there is no one best (historical) account, since we find it useful to vary questions, assumptions, and *perspectives.*" (Shemilt, 2000: 98, my emphasis). As Lorenz pointed out, the "description" of either the natural or the historical reality "embodies *points of view* or *perspectives*" (Lorenz, 1994: 313). This is the reason why Lorenz adopted the term "Internal Realism"[4] to describe the function of the discipline of history. According to Lorenz, the historian offers a reconstruction of the past "*within* a specific frame of description" or a perspective (Lorenz, 1994: 313, my emphasis). One could add that the historian, in order to retain a certain perspective, emphasizes specific aspects of the past while he omits other "... agents, events, causes ..." (Barton and Levstik, 2004: 137). An account of the past in order to constitute a historical narrative ought to be meaningful; the meaning of the historical narrative is accomplished through the adoption of a perspective on the part of the historian. The

[1] The term "affordance" (advantage) is an apodosis of the relevant Russian term and is used by the socio cultural school of cognitive psychology. It also originates in the works of Soviet psychology and especially in the works of Vygotsky.

[2] Actually at this point Wertsch referred to Bartlett as the first researcher who ended up with the conclusion above.

[3] Barton and Levstik, while describing a process of selections on the part of the historian, "a narrative necessarily *includes* some things and *omits* others ..." , my emphasis, use the word "simplification" instead of selection (Barton and Levstik, 2005: 137).

[4] Lorenz attributed the term to H. Putnam, and described "Internal Realism" as a "third way in philosophy of history beyond objectivism and relativism" (Lorenz, 1994: 307).

historian manages to retain a constant perspective by being selective in relation to his material. Otherwise, a description of the past would only constitute a list of events and not history.

To conclude, *familiarity* because of the narrative structure and *coherence* of the narrative through *selectivity,* seem to be the affordances of historical narratives in general, and not only for students at school. People, students at school as well, learn more easily if things are put into a framework; as Bartlett has shown, people, when they receive new material, tend to create their own frameworks using "plots" they are familiar with, throughout a "rationalization process" (Bartlett, ed. 1995). People need rationality, though rationality seems to be monitored by *familiarity.*

7.3.4. The Greek national narrative as an affordance for students

The students of this research developed three different versions of the Greek national narrative: the version about Greece being continuously involved in war, the version about Greece's geographical location provoking antagonism and the version about Greece' s exceptional cultural continuity and performance.

The same students reproduced the above scenarios and used them as arguments in the Elgin' marbles task and in order to justify their selections in the preservation task. In the latter task the national narrative functioned as a framework that monitored students' selections. Not only did the students select past items on the grounds that they represented their national identity, but they also 'rejected' items on the same grounds; certain items were rejected because they did not correspond to the identity of the students. Students exercised 'exclusion; and 'inclusion' which are typical moves in a process of identity construction.

Student responses indicate a very coherent historical framework that helped them to orientate in the face of specific problems: first, whenever the problems referred to students' contested identity, and second whenever students had to select among items that bore symbolic significance like the ancient temple or the Byzantine church. The latter items were not always selected on the grounds of 'identity' however, but also for other reasons.

The preservation task, apart from functioning as a significance exercise, also produced seventy responses that were allocated to the (D2d) category 'Past as different and good to know (the "historical" past)'. In the latter case, students did not identify with their national narrative on a familiarity basis. On the contrary they claimed that they chose the ancient temple, the Byzantine church and the watermill on the grounds that these items were different from what they knew and what they had been familiar with so far. Students also explained that through these items they would learn more about 'different people' The wording of these students' answers seems to be similar to the Irish findings about students' perceptions of the purposes of history (Barton, 2001a: 52), although in Ireland there is a different curriculum and in general a different milieu.

Students' articulations of a "historical past", in relation to items that bear great symbolic significance from the identity point of view, could be thought of as if they were "negative cases" as Goetz and Le Compte use the term (Goetz and Le Compte in Lincoln and Guba, 1985: 335). Findings have so far suggested that students opted for the most familiar items, guided by their identity past, or a 'practical' past. Though there have been cases that the same objects provoked 'historical past' excerpts: either the latter ought to be thought of as negative cases or students' 'culture' functioned here in a different way.

It is possible that the Greek students' 'coexistence' with the monuments of their city and their familiarity with archaeological procedures functioned as a "scaffold"[1] which helped them think historically: the city is built on ancient remains in a way that when new buildings are built remains are being discovered all the time. In many Greek cities there has been a continuous conflict between what Herzfeld has called "monumental time" and "social time" (Herzfeld in Gallant, 1995: 142). Many times people's needs are in conflict with the archaeologists' priorities not only in the case of ancient remains but also in the case of more recent buildings like the neoclassical buildings of the 19th century; peasants' or islanders' houses are also protected today because they are thought of as occupying a special architectural character. If one has the privilege or the misfortune of owning an old building, a building 'protected' by

[1] "Scaffold" used here as used by Shemilt in "Knowing, Teaching and Learning History" (Shemilt, 2000: 93). Shemilt uses the word "scaffold" for substantive historical frameworks.

the archaeological services or the state, one usually becomes familiar with a very technical, 'historical' vocabulary relating to the 'value' or the significance of the specific building. The latter findings also agree with relevant findings in the pilot studies where students attempted to articulate general criteria of preservation in a similar preservation task.

In short, culture in the form of historic buildings and ancient remains or the special dynamics of "material culture"[1] with which students tend to be more familiar might have helped them to articulate historical speech.

Moreover, one ought to pay attention to another category that also evolved from the preservation task: the (C) category 'Significant past (the material past) which represents significant historical themes, activities, civilizations'. Students' wording often echoed a "pattern significance" which is the significance attributed to events "as being part of patterns of changes" and which is considered an 'advanced' type of significance (Cercadillo, 2000: 61).

In summary, 'culture', either in the form of the Greek national narrative, or in the form of material culture, helped students in two ways. First it provided them with a "localized coherent past"[2], the story of the development of the Greek nation. Students were able to move easily forwards and backwards within this framework, while they were able to use elements of the narrative to articulate arguments. However, the latter 'skill' seemed to have been context-specific because the same students had difficulties in articulating continuities between the remote past and the present whenever the 'theme' of the question changed. Second, students displayed historical sensitivity in relation to items of material culture with which they were familiar as the latter formed part of students' everyday life.

At the same time, as Barton and Levstik noted, the affordances of historical narratives in education constitute "constraints" as well.

[1] "Material culture" is used here as used by Nakou (2001: 94).

[2] Lee, P. (2002): Walking backwards into tomorrow, p. 21.

7.3.5. Constraints of the cultural tools — Students should be aware of the nature of the discipline of history

There does not seem to be a problem in relation to the historical narrative itself as a cultural and educational tool, but only in relation to the way students usually conceive of the nature of the historical narrative and the practice of the discipline of history.

As Barton and Levstik noted, students tend to think of the historical narratives as if they were *given*[1] and definite stories about the past exactly because students are *familiar* with the narrative structure. Students also tend to think of the narratives as if they were the past itself and not merely a reconstruction of the past (Barton and Levstik, 2004: 137). The latter drawback of the use of narratives in education led Lee to insist on the familiarization of the students not with specific "given", national or other, narratives, but with the process of the narratives' construction. Students, Lee argued, ought to be given "not a preformed grand narrative, but an apparatus for making sense of what narratives are and do in history" (Lee, 2002: 11). In the end students should understand "what makes an account historical" and also "the grounds of historical claims" (Lee, 1990: 49).

Lee also insisted on the need for the students' familiarization with the other characteristic of the historical narratives: students should become familiar with the adoption of a certain *perspective* on the part of the historian in order for the narrative to be *coherent*: if students realized that "a point of view is not merely legitimate but necessary [in the construction of historical narratives]" (Lee, 2005a: 60) then they would not be confused by conflicting accounts of the past; at the same time they would become familiar with the idea of a historical account which reconstructs or constructs the past, in contrast to an account that merely copies a pre-existing, given past. The latter concerns about students' lack of familiarization with the discipline of history, led to the creation of a whole tradition in British schools that focused on the teaching of history's disciplinary procedures. In the following paragraphs an effort will be made to display the constraints of the official narrative for the Greek students who participated in this research.

[1] The term "given" about the children's past is used as in Lee. (Lee, 2002: 8).

7.3.6. Greek students and the teaching of the Greek national narrative

- Students saw continuities between past and present selectively (suggestions)

If history constitutes a meaningful connection between past, present and future, the students of this research did not seem to be familiar with the latter process; they only managed to create frameworks connecting the past, the present and the future whenever the problem referred to their identity. In other words, the students of this research had had difficulty to transfer "patterns of actions or relationships"[1] from their history lessons at school, or from their general knowledge about the past, to the current problems they were asked to comment. This is the reason why they referred to "changes" between past and present or to the lack of present cases "similar" to the past ones that prevented them from referring at least to the remote past.

Arguably this must be partly due to the fact that lessons at school did not focus on processes or trends in history and students were taught a fragmented factual history; in the end, the only developmental framework students had was the 'identity' one, which was just "given" to the students. Students seem not to have had the chance to realize how "past and present are developmentally related" (Barton, 2001b: 907). Barton at this point repeats Shemilt's suggestion for "developmental narratives" that allow students to realize how the present has evolved from the past. The findings above also argue for at least the partial adoption of the latter teaching approach; studies in development could be a part of the Greek curriculum.

Interestingly a recent text-book has been produced for the first class of the Lyceum (16-year-old students) that could be thought as a 'study in development'[2].

[1] Seixas (1993a): Seixas in this article described the creative transference of certain historical patterns to contemporary issues by a Portuguese Canadian student. The latter student isolated patterns in his family and Portuguese history that he used in the discussion of current issues.

[2] The book is about the evolution of the notion of Europe as the latter changed throughout ages; the book focuses on processes of change and on different constructions of the 'same' identity (the European identity). In contrast to previous text-books it focuses on Europe and not on Greece and it gives a 'dynamic', changing description of the European identity; the latter is presented as a response to different problems people faced through the ages and not as a fixed entity. The book is the "The Formation of the European Identity, The European Civilization and its Origins, Athens, 1998, written by Liakos, A., Gaganakis, K., Gazi, E., Kokkinos, G., Pentazou I. and Sbiliris, G.

Unfortunately the book is not taught, because it is 'distributed' for a history lesson that is optional and students opt for lessons that have no exams.

- Patterns of significance (significant historical agents, significant items to be preserved). Students saw the nations as the main agents in history while they selected certain themes and activities as significant (suggestions).

An undifferentiated "we" appeared in students' narration of Greek history while the latter history mainly comprised Greece's involvement in territorial conflicts with other countries. Greece and the 'others', both acted as 'wholes'. Greece seemed to have resisted heroically either actual invasion or cultural assimilation. When students compared Greece to "Europe" the latter was referred to in the same undifferentiated way as Greece. On the whole, the main historical agents for students were the several nations that were seen acting in an environment similar to an international 'arena'.

Additionally in the preservation task the watermill was not selected for preservation by students since it represented a humble and insignificant past. The neoclassical house or the poet's house also did not belong to students' favourite items; there were students that selected the neoclassical house provided "important people"[1] lived there, while the poet's house would be preserved as long as the poet was "a national poet".

Greek curricula and Greek textbooks[2] usually refer very briefly to the structure of the societies that are presented or to aspects of everyday life in which 'everyone' would be included and in which the main agent would be the "common people"; the findings above, suggest that Greek textbooks and curricula should also focus on social history and on collective agents other than the 'Peoples'. Greek textbooks also ought not to silence social and other diversities among the populations under description. Another focus either for the curricula or the textbooks could be "material culture"[3] and everyday life that would enhance students' interest[4] and that would

[1] Christina opted for the preservation of the neoclassical house on the grounds that "important persons might have lived there" (0203b).

[2] Textbooks of the Junior High School.

[3] Levstik, L. and Barton, K. (1996).

[4] Ibid.

help them draw analogies between past and present more easily. The latter would enrich their historical culture introducing them to the world of mentalities instead of the works of the several 'leaders' or "important persons" that mainly constitute the focus of traditional history.

- Students' ethnocentrism (suggestions)

Seixas suggests that all three educational traditions in history[1] could be advisable (Seixas, 2000); in the end, each of them bears certain affordances, certain advantages: students certainly need an identity, and they need to know their origin. Still they need to be aware of the nature of the historical narrative they adopt and they need to be aware of the fact that the latter narrative is the product of selections and that it was constructed for a certain purpose. Otherwise an exclusively collective memory approach is adopted in education (Seixas, 2005: 2).

The main constraint of the collective memory approach in the teaching of history seems to be its selectiveness and its tendency to demarcate the national self by excluding other peoples (Dragona and Frangoudaki, 2001)[2].

The majority of Greek students in this study exhibited a mastery of their official narrative while only two students attempted to adopt alternative versions. Still, these two more critical students were not consistent in their performance: at other points of their account they adopted well known stereotypes and distortions[3] like the rest of the students. The latter stereotypes referred to the attribution of positive characterizations to the Greek people, the victimization of the Greek people and the uniqueness of Greek culture.

Greek students in the Junior High School are taught long periods of 'general' factual history, with no thematic focus. Despite the fact that the history textbooks allocate space to other peoples and countries, the relevant chapters are not usually taught and

[1] The three different traditions in history education are supposed to be: the "traditional" that establishes identities, the "disciplinary" that familiarizes students with the historical enquiry and the "post modern".

[2] Dragona and Frangoudaki refer to history textbooks.

[3] The expression "distortion" is used here as by Barton in Barton, 1996: 51.

certainly they are not examined. Nevertheless, the Greek national curriculum adopts "flexibility"[1] in relation to the content of the history to be taught as an assessment criterion of its programme of studies. The curriculum refers to "flexibility" in relation to content because "a programme of studies addresses students of different sociocultural environments"; the idea is that the teacher ought to adapt the lesson to his or her 'audience' depending on the area in which the school is. However, it is not at all clear how the latter aim will be realized since the same curriculum prescribes in detail what will be taught.

Ethnocentrism and the official narrative are not diffused exclusively by books and the curricula; therefore, revision of the books' and the curricula would not necessarily eliminate ethnocentrism (Koulouri, 2001: 15). Wertsch emphasized the situated character of individuals' membership to groups, a character that has also been commented on by Vygotsky and Bakhtin (Wertsch, 2001a and Wertsch and Rozin, 1998); the 'consumption' of cultural tools — for example official narratives — does not ensure the individuals' endorsement of specific ways of thinking. In other words, despite the existence and the imposition of an official narrative by the Greek state, there must be certain needs in the Greek society that allow the appropriation of the latter narrative. Historians who have described the construction of the Greek official narrative, have also emphasized the persistence of certain schemas in the public use of history in Greece (Kokkinos, 2006: 327; Liakos, 2001: 40). On the other hand, nationalism today seems to have stopped being the 'monopoly' of the state: one cannot afford to underestimate for example the role of the Church in the formation of Greek identity (Liakos, 2005: 152).

For all the above reasons Seixas' and Wineburg's insights to the public uses of history or of collective memory in the USA and Canada can be valuable for this research. They have both commented on the distortions provoked by what they occasionally called "cultural memory" (Wineburg, 2001: 227) or "cultural curriculum (in contrast to the official curriculum)" (Wineburg, 2001: 248) or "popular media" (Seixas, 1993b: 351) and "popular uses of the past" (Seixas, 2002: 3). Finally they have both commented on the several non-official ways of

[1] National Curriculum, "Assessment of the programme of studies for history", p. 21, accessed 04/12/05.

"production and transmission of historical consciousness" like "family stories, film, television and commemorative celebrations" (Seixas, 2002: 1).

Seixas has repeatedly drawn attention to the "fragmentation of the contemporary cultural milieu" many times (Seixas, 1999: 333 and 2002: 2); he emphasized the inadequacy of the adoption of a historical canon in school history given the multicultural environment in which students live. The same could also apply to Greece: there are many students of various ethnic and religious origins in Greek schools today. There are also people in certain areas of Greece or in Athens whose sense of history or of the past is more intense; areas with people that experienced traumatic political events. In these cases oral tradition and transmission between generations, first hand relatives' experiences, inform the students' consciousness differently.

This study did not focus on the differentiation between vernacular narratives in Greece; it has commented on the 'constrained' and selective use of the past students made whenever they seemed to echo an official narrative. The above findings in relation to Greek students' "historical literacy"[1], the contemporary multicultural reality as the latter has developed in Greece and the diffusion of historical knowledge, suggest that a more 'critical' approach in history teaching should be adopted in Greece.

On the whole, since the traditional or identity approach is dominant in Greek schools, the above findings suggest that time must also be profitably spent on developing a disciplinary approach to history education. Students in order to understand the processes followed by the historian would need "studies in depth"; otherwise what students will continue achieving out of the lessons of a whole year is a time line of events. If longer periods are to be studied then the approach would have to be thematic and preferably not related to conventional historical themes like political history. The interplay between "(thematic) studies in development" "and studies in depth" could be an option.

[1] «Historical literacy" as used by Lee in "From National Canon to Historical Literacy: Understanding, Orientation and Frameworks", Rotterdam, 2005b, International Conference.

Additionally one would expect Greek educators and textbook authors not to ignore the "significant force of collective memory" (Wineburg, 2001: 248) while public history or memory issues should be discussed in the classrooms. The latter tactic is advocated by all American educators (Barton, Wineburg, Seixas) and also by the English educator Husbands. They all seem to agree that the school class ought to function as a "community of inquiry" (Seixas, 1993c) where students would bring their "current concerns" to be discussed (Husbands, 1996: 62) and where "students' beliefs and assumptions would be challenged by educators more directly" (Barton, 2005: 85).

Flexible and less detailed historical curricula that would leave 'space' to Greek students and teachers could be an alternative to the present, overburdened programmed of studies, that emphasizes specific content in contrast to processes of learning. In relation to textbooks and to the extent that the latter provoke 'ethnocentrism', Koulouri suggests comparative, social and cultural history in contrast to political and military history (Koulouri, 2001: 22-23).

Students also would need to know some history of historiography in order to put their own national history and other histories in perspective.

7.4. SUGGESTED DIRECTIONS FOR RESEARCH

Students in this research seemed to have referred to the past in almost all cases. Nevertheless, where the tasks changed, two things also changed in students' stances. First the type of the past they used and second the level of students' awareness in relation to their use of the past. As tables 1, 2 and 3 on pages 328-329 show, students' answers seem to have depended on the content of the tasks and on the way certain questions were asked. Questions which directly[1] invited students to express themselves in relation to the past's usefulness provoked conscious past uses by students.

[1] A *direct* question is a question when the interviewer makes explicit reference to the past, for instance: would the knowledge of the past help you to decide about ...

However, in the 'indirect'[1] version of the 'three different issues' task (the 'environment', 'Elgin marbles' and 'vote' issues) students made frequent use of a *not named*[2] past (see again tables on page 328). Students often referred to knowledge of the 'substantive' past, to events or to past 'examples' without generalizing about the past. In other cases time expressions or expressions that by definition bear a past dimension counted as indicators for the interpretation of the latter students' responses as 'references to the past'.

Finally, the classification of students' responses as 'past' responses or 'non past' responses (atemporal), when the questions to the students were indirect, was a demanding and complex task. At the same time the extensive use of an 'implicit' past in the 'change' task — thirty six excerpts, see table 3. on page 329 — suggests that when students did not 'name' the past in the 'three different issues' task, they might nevertheless have made to some degree an unconscious[3] use of the past.

On the other hand, in both cases (in the 'three different issues' task and the 'change' task) students made use of a *recent* past[4]. On the whole one can notice in students' responses in the different tasks a tendency to use *the recent past in a not conscious way,* unless of course students are asked directly about the past. The finding that mainly corroborates the interpretation of students' past as a *recent not conscious past* is the perception of their own past use that students seem to have had in the 'change' task. Students actually did not refer to the past at all when asked about while they claimed that they could predict changes[5] for the future judging "from now".

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[1] A *indirect* question is the question in which there is no explicit reference to the past, for instance: what would you need to know in order to decide about ...

[2] A *past not named* answer is the student's answer that does not include the words "past" or "history".

[3] The term "unconscious" bears no Freudian connotations in this text.

[4] Students in the 'three different issues' task generally favoured the recent past with the exception of the Elgin marbles case.

[5] In the 'change' task students had to answer to the following questions: What sort of changes do you think might affect our lives most in the next thirty years and why would you think that the specific changes might be considered as the most probable?

The latter interpretation of students' "now" as a kind of past was also based on empirical literature that commented on students' use of an "extended present" instead of the past (Shemilt, 1980: 24, Lee, 2005a: 48). More specifically in his paper "Walking backwards into tomorrow", Lee suggested that students drew a "picture of the future as a slightly extended present" (Lee, 2002: 24) while in another paper he commented on students' tendency of "projecting the present back into the past and then forward again" (Lee, 2004b: 8). Wineburg and Seixas also commented on their own students' anachronisms in several cases (Wineburg, 2001: 3-27 and Seixas, 1993b).

Similar tendencies among adolescents were also identified in several surveys such as the "Youth and History" survey, both in the general sample (Von Borries, 1997: 186) and the Greek sample (Askouni, 2000: 263). In the "Youth and History" survey students seemed to have 'extended' a present rationale to the past: students suggested certain present factors as having provoked changes in the past, and the same factors as liable to provoke changes in the future. Iliopoulou in her own survey also identified an ahistorical assessment of historical terms like "Europe", "nation" "progress" by the students of her sample in Greece[1]. She also identified presentism and anachronism in relation to a historical conflict task in which students assessed historical past conflicts using a contemporary morality (Ηλιοπούλου, 2002: 317-321).

Presentism is neither a new concept nor a recently recognized tendency among people and students in particular. History developed into a discipline when people tried to explain differences between past and present and since then "[all main] *historical perspectives* [were] *drawn from leading ideas of temporal change*" (Rüsen, 1993: 10, my emphasis). The 'proper' distance between past and present is related to the idea of temporal change and has defined modern and postmodern approaches to history (Νάκου, 2006: 285[2]). The great challenge when one composes a historical

[1] Iliopoulou's sample comprises of 1012 students of three different classes of the secondary school (thirteen, sixteen and eighteen-years-old students).

[2] Nakou, I. (2006): Teaching history, material culture and museums in Kokkinos, G. and Nakou, I. (eds) *Approaching History Education in the Beginning of the 21st Century*, Athens: Metaichmio, a Greek edition).

account seems to be the one of retaining a balance between "ethical neutrality" (studying the past for its own sake) and "human significance" (a presentist notion of the past) that gives a meaning to that account (Walsh, 1990: 42). While it seems to be true that "there is no escape from the past" (Lee, 1984: 1) the present seems to be equally inescapable if one wants to make sense of the past.

Nevertheless, one must admit that there is evidence from the various quantitative and qualitative empirical studies of a persistent students' unconscious presentism or ahistorical tendency: students either employ anachronisms in order to make sense of the past or ignore the past even when they are using it. Students actually seem to be continuously living in a "pre-existing present" (Κόκκινος, 2003: 162)[1].

The above evidence from this study and the rest of the empirical quantitative studies suggests that future research ought to orientate towards students' *not conscious use of the recent past* and more specifically in the *implicit* ways in which students express themselves in relation to the past. The latter lack of awareness on students' part could be another form of presentism; students think as if the past does not exist at all. In fact the question of this study could be reformulated from "*whether* students refer to the past" to "*when* do students *explicitly* refer the past". On the whole it seems that reference to the past and conscious use of the past is not an 'all or nothing' process; there is a whole 'grey' area where students while not being able to escape the past, use the past unconsciously. Furthermore, "anachronisms" (Seixas 1993a, Wineburg, 2001 and Ηλιοπούλου, 2002) are actually conscious references to the past where students make *unconscious reference to the present.* If the 'essence' of the discipline of history is to differentiate between the past and present students in this research did not seem to have had a disciplinary approach to history or to the past.

[1] Kokkinos, G. (2003): *Discipline, Ideology, Identity*, Athens: Metaichmio, a Greek edition. However, Kokkinos is not referring to the students; he is interpreting contemporary stances towards history and the past which are supposed to be represented also in students.

7.5 EPILOGUE

Students in this research explicitly referred to the past only in the case of their 'cultural' past which also functioned as students' sole remote past. In all the other cases students opted for the recent past either explicitly or implicitly. There was also a frequent use of an implicit cultural past in cases where students' notions of significance were being examined.

Students' "cultural" past functioned positively for students' thinking only in one case while generally it had a constraining role: students in this research seemed to have been 'trapped' in an identity constructed in a "centralized" way (Rüsen, 2004a: 118) by an implicit or explicit exclusion of all the 'others'. Students in this research seemed also to have been 'trapped' in their presentism: if history is "valuable as something which *expands* our whole picture of the world" (Lee, 1990: 43, my emphasis) then students seemed to have had a very limited perspective, both in space (ethnocentrism) and in time (presentism).

Educators today, concerned with the above students' limited perspective in a contemporary multicultural world, suggest the teaching of historical frameworks broader than the ones that students seem to have. Cajani (2006: 124-127) discusses about a history that would focus on "humanity" and not on the nation, while Mattozzi (2006: 133-159) suggests the teaching of specific developments again in the history of humanity[1].

British educators are more interested in how students make use of the past in order to orientate in time. Thus, British research focuses on whether students leave school with a framework of the past which would help them orientate themselves in time. A local or national historical framework which is usually learnt by students as such and not constructed by the students themselves, does not seem to help students orientate in history: as suggested by the data of this research a taught, "fixed" historical framework is not transferable, it is content specific; it is recalled only in cases where identity is at stake. Shemilt and Lee suggested the teaching of "usable historical frameworks" (Lee, 2004b: 8) in school that along with the teaching of the

[1] Mattozzi refers to a program which addresses primary school students.

disciplinary processes (methodology in history) might enable students to create at some point their own frameworks in history and orientate themselves in time.

Not being able to orientate in time because the past, as one of the time dimensions, seems not to exist on a conscious level, could also imply a limited desire on the part of the students to act in the world. Ankermit interpreted Rüsen's saying that "historical knowledge is constituted by specific interests" as if the sole existence of history depends on peoples' interest in politics (Rüsen in Ankermit 2001: 278). Additionally Carr reading Koselleck reminds us that a new perception of time and the past, which led to the modern historiography, surfaced among people when the "future [seemed to have been] subject to human planning and control" (Carr reading Koselleck, 1987: 201[1]). Finally, "why would we be interested in the past if we were not interested in the present and the future in the first place?" asks Liakos (2005: 156).

On the whole, students' presentism and entrapment in their national or cultural identity and especially their lack of past awareness (Κόκκινος, 2003: 162) seem to have cognitive, educational and political implications. Thus, it would only be reasonable if educational research and education focused on those students' tacit understandings (Lee, 1990: 47) that seem to be restricting students' perspective of history and the world. It is hoped that this study has brought to the fore at least some of those students' ideas.

[1] Koselleck's ideas about historical time and the relation between the future and the past are also presented by Zammito, 2004.

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II. APPENDIX

APPENDIX A. (Chapter two)

Pilot studies of April and September 2003

Excerpts from the interviews

1. *The past as national identity*

Emphasis on culture

(a) Interviewer: Do you think it is important to come into contact with the monuments?

Giannis: Yes, I think that it is very useful because at least we retain our cultural heritage (in Greek: 'πολιτιστική κληρονομιά') we ... (inaudible) for it, because ***I think it is very important for all the people of some country to know their history.***

(b) Interviewer: One could argue, that from the aesthetic point of view it is better to be able to see the Acropolis than a skyscraper, isn't that so? There is always the aesthetic point of view, is there any other benefit?

Giannis: What we said before . . . I think . . . our ***cultural heritage.***

(c) Eleftheria: 1821 is important because Greeks can now function as Greeks and not as individuals isolated in their home, there is a group spirit and many things in common: the common interests, ***the Greek language, the preservation of civilization, the common religion*** and others...

Interviewer: All these elements also existed in the Ottoman period...

Eleftheria: They existed but I believe that because they lived in the Ottoman empire, it was difficult, I believe that each one stayed within his community and that he was confined there ... it was difficult because they could not unite as Greeks, they were just trying to be saved and select? (inaudible) whatever they knew. There was ***no possibility to exchange ideas*** ... to feel that they were together with other people outside their own village.

Old and ancient

(d) Interviewer: ... you said that the revelation of this archaeological site will offer material to historiography, so you must believe that history is somehow useful, why do you think it is useful?

Stamatis: For history ... we can learn about ***the ancient civilization....***

Interviewer: Do we learn only about the ancient civilization?

Stamatis: ***How the ancient people lived ...***

Interviewer: The ancient people or the people of the past in general?

Stamatis: The people of the past...

Interviewer: The people of the past, so you don't mean that the ancient period is more useful from the 19th century?

Stamatis: No, their habits, their occupations...

Interviewer: Why this would be useful?

Stamatis: Because a lot of people today are having the same kind of jobs.

(e) Interviewer: So you feel you want to preserve the past (the archaeological site) you believe that this contributes ... why is it useful for you to know the past?

Manolis: Out of interest mostly...

Interviewer: Out of interest ... you feel you need to know about ancient Greece, who else do you want to know about?

Manolis: ***Generally about other ancient civilizations***

2. *The past as a broader identity*

(a) Interviewer: Nora what do you think of the issue of the athletic centre?

Nora: I believe that it would be better not to build a sports centre in the area, but to find another space in some other municipality not very far from the town ...

Interviewer: It wouldn't be near...

Nora: . . . it would be better to protect the cultural heritage for economic reasons as well, and because the past is the basis of the future, though it would be bad for the children of the area, that they wouldn't have anywhere to play, but this would be ***useful for the rest of humanity.***

(b) Interviewer: For our personal heritage . . . if you finally have to select between past and present which would you choose?

Vangelis: I would choose the present, because it is better to care about the present and future ***for humanity,*** looking at the past means really nothing.

(c) Interviewer: So aesthetics is the only problem . . . Nadia, what would be more important, an old building of the nineteenth century, an 'ordinary' house where 'ordinary' people were living, or the archaeological site? If you had to choose what would you do?
Nadia: I would choose the archaeological site.
Interviewer: Why?
Nadia: ***My ancestors' house doesn't offer anything to the rest of the world*** but to me alone, whereas the archaeological space gives ***knowledge to many people,*** it can remain, to be in the future as well.

3. *The personal past*

(a) Interviewer: Would you sell your grandparents' house if you had an economic problem? It could become a block of flats, you will take a lot of money, it is not a historic building, but one of the typical Athenian houses, and it also occupies sentimental value, because your grand parents were living there

Niki: I would give it (and she continued) ... if we have bonds with something, ***we keep it in our hearts,*** it doesn't have to exist to be loved...

(b) Vasiliki: The prison should be demolished because ***the ones that were sent to the prison bear the events in their memory.*** There is no way that these people will ever forget what has happened, ***the events are inside their hearts,*** and in their way they will narrate them at some moment to their grand children, so as the tradition, the memory won't be lost.

(The excerpts below are pupils' first answers justifying their choices to the preservation task of the September interview, the students below support the preservation of the prison).
(c) Xanthippi: But if the prison is demolished ***and history is simply transferred by mouth, at some moment it will be forgotten,*** it won't be the same, like having the prison where your grandpa was and you being able to go in there and see how it had been, if you see the space where everything has happened ***that piece of information passes inside you in a completely different way.***

(d) Chronis: I would say that it should be preserved because it is not right to 'demolish' (the actual Greek word here) peoples' memories.
Interviewer: what do we want the memories for?
Chronis: ***It is as if we demolish someone's past,*** because if I had resisted (he means politically), and had been to prison for that reason, if we demolished this space it wouldn't be right, especially if I had not been recognized (Greek resistance throughout the German occupation was not always recognized by the Greek state), because a lot have not been recognized for what they did, I don't think that it is right to demolish (in Greek: γκρεμίζω) the past, ***it is like demolishing, pulling down their whole life.***

4. *The past as something rare and remote*

(a) Interviewer: Ok, there were very important people in the ancient years, how can you exclude for example that there were very important people in the nineteenth century, or that there are very important people today?
Manolis: . . . what existed in ancient years, ***was so many years before,*** it was so important that ***they were preserved for so long,*** we are not speaking about one century but about a lot more.

(Jenny and Vasiliki giving reasons for their choices in the preservation exercise)
(b) Jenny: . . . ***difficult to build them again,*** all these thousands years before us, ***Byzantine churches are not many now . . .***

(c) Vasiliki: . . . ***it is difficult to build*** these two buildings ***again*** (She opted for the archaeological site and the neoclassical building).

Other excerpts:
(d) Interviewer: Because they[1] lived in the same space we lived, if your father was from some village, about the relatives closer to you, wouldn't you want to know about?
Manolis: They wouldn't be that important as the ancient ones

[1] The discussion is about the ancient Greeks that have been seen as important by the student.

Interviewer: what we know are the names of those ancient Greeks that they were. . .
Manolis: It is much ***easier*** to get to know about my close relatives than about my ancient ancestors.

(e) Interviewer: A house in Plaka (Athen's historic centre) is not necessarily a monument or a historic building but it is something very typical of the old Athens, doesn't this make you think, or have some reservations?
Manolis: ***I believe that the more ancient the building is, the higher its value.***

(Eleni in the preservation task)
(f) Eleni: ***We don't have many monuments from the Byzantine era, we don't have as many churches as archaeological sites***[1]
Interviewer: . . . do you think that the factory has any relation to history?
Eleni: No.
Interviewer: You don't think that an old factory is relevant to Greece's history?
Eleni: The factory is one thing and the archaeological site or the Byzantine church or the neoclassical building is another.
Interviewer: what's the difference?
Eleni: The factory belongs to the ***recent past.***

5. *Past as culture, culture as knowledge*

According to students, past can be seen as "culture" which is "knowledge", while "knowledge upgrades" (The excerpt below is the student's first answer justifying his choice in task 1 of the April interview):
(a) Giannis: . . . ***the area would be upgraded*** because of the museum . . .

(b)Interviewer (to another student): . . . what is your choice, to destroy the archaeological site or not?
Manolis: It would be more useful for a problematic area to have a museum, culture about ancient Greece would be developed.

[1] In the preservation task students had to choose among buildings of different eras; Eleni is comparing the Byzantine church to the archaeological site and then she comments on a 'modern' factory.

Students sometimes referred to 'disciplinary' knowledge (The excerpts below are the students' first answers justifying their choices in task 1[1] of the April interview):
(c) Vangelis: What I would suggest would be that ***the archaeologists should first come*** to the space and conclude their excavations and research, take out as many pieces as they would need to, and only when . . .

(d) Interviewer: Would you have any other benefit with the preservation of the monument apart from the financial one? Imagine you will be able to see it every morning you wake up . . .
Stamatis: . . . books will change, not the books, ***new pages will be added to history*** and they will say about . . . new knowledge.

History and the War/Historiography
(e) Interviewer: So your rationale was the disasters that were provoked (by the war in Iraq). Did history contribute somehow in your decision (the decision to participate in the protest march against the war in Iraq)?
Vangelis: Yes, because I heard on the television that Iraq has great history, more than five thousand years . . . so with what they did ***they destroyed history,*** so there will be no history, ***only books that won't be proving anything,*** and that will be writing only about . . .
Interviewer: . . . what existed, there won't be any sources . . .
Vangelis: ***history won't be verified.***

6. *Past teaches, the exemplary use*

(a) Interviewer: Do you believe that the past has nothing to do with the present and the future?
Vangelis: Well, I believe there is not much relationship, but we should keep the main monuments.
Interviewer: If there is not much relationship why we should keep them?
Vangelis: For personal heritage reasons, meaning that ***if we find something to correct history,*** if we have made some mistake we will know.

[1] The task about the preservation of the archaeological site.

Elsewhere:

(b) Interviewer: How is history useful to non historians, to an accountant or to a salesman?

Vangelis: Actually, they are helped ***in order not to repeat mistakes*** that people of the past have made, so that they can make their life, and other peoples' lives as well, better.

(c) Aristomenis: ***We have to remember mistakes,*** we learn from them, and from this point of view I believe that it would be good to see what the Dictatorship did in 1967 ***so as not to have something similar events again.***

And the opposite (This discussion occurred during the 'prison task'. Vasiliki replied to her schoolmates who insisted on the preservation of the monument):

(d) Vasiliki: Even if we retain the monuments, ***this wouldn't mean that we will avoid in the future similar events***

Interviewer: So we do not develop after all?

Vasiliki: Not all of us

Jenny: Well we develop, but human nature is such that we do not change in certain issues.

Vasiliki: Events like those in Iraq have happened before, but they just get repeated.

Conversation continued along the same lines:

(e) Jenny: . . . but we see, I believe what they say that "history is repeated", ***history's aim is to teach in order for people to avoid mistakes,*** but in the end we do not avoid them

(Jenny will add later that something that changes is people's attitude, because now days people that think differently are heard more).

7. *The past as a condition to present achievements.*

The past as a condition to present achievements was a pattern that appeared more than once, suggesting an advanced sense of continuity.

(a)Interviewer: What about cases where there aren't any similarities but only differences (between past and present), then would the past be in some way useful? For example, there have been a lot of changes in the way industrial goods are produced, there wasn't any industry at all in the past, why should we learn about how they lived then?

Stamatis: Because ***industry was built being based on past civilizations,*** on how they used to work . . .

Interviewer: So we didn't reach this point . . . have you been taught the industrial revolution?

Nora: . . . yes

Interviewer: You have done it, we didn't begin from zero . . .

Stamatis: We had some basis . . .

Interviewer: We had some basis, can you be more specific . . . the knowledge of the past . . .

Stamatis: . . . ***contributes to the present and makes the future better.***

Another excerpt:

(b) Interviewer: How is history useful to non historians, to an accountant or to a salesman?

Vangelis: Actually, they are helped in order not to repeat mistakes . . . for example the lawyer can make our life better depending on findings of the people of the past.

Interviewer: Ok, so we can become better in our job or some other thing?

Nora: I want to say that in the past medicines had been discovered and that ***if these medicines had not been discovered, it wouldn't be*** that easy now for humanity, so in this way the past is very important and in this way the doctor can find a job and . . .

Interviewer: so we have the evolution of the professions and even the new ones come from some . . .

Vangelis: . . . old ones

8. *Compromising solutions to the conflict problem and the 'creative' use of the past*

(No question from the interviewer preceded these responses)

(a) Vangelis: What I would suggest would be that the archaeologists should first come to the space and conclude their excavations and research, take out as many pieces as they would need to, ***and only when*** they were sure that the space was not of any other archaeological use, then a centre could be built on it ...

At some other point:
(b) Interviewer: At the beginning of your speech you had a slightly different stance, as I heard it you neither opted for the past nor for the present, what did you say, do you remember?
Vangelis: . . . not to choose either the past or the present but just to keep some of the remains and to let the centre be built ***only when a solution is found*** by the archaeological service.

From another interview on the archaeological site task:
(c) Nadia: I believe that they should be transferred, as many as possible, from the ancient monuments, to some museum, so as not to be seen only by those that are living nearby, but also by others, and if some of them cannot be transferred, ***these ones could be put into boxes*** (and in this way remain in the site) ***so as to be seen by the children playing nearby . . .***

From another interview on the prison task:
(d) Manolis: Athens has a great need of parks and green, and I believe that this prison tortured enough people in a way that if it is destroyed it will offer something good and as for commemorating those that were tortured, ***these are really bad memories, we can also engrave their names somewhere.***

9. Present needs

(The excerpts below are the pupils' first answers justifying their choice in the preservation exercise during the September interview).
(a) Haralambos: . . . the lake, the destruction of which will affect directly our lives.

(b) Myrto: . . . the environment first, because this is where we live, history . . .

And from the prison task:

(c) Aristomenis: ***The prison should be demolished*** but just for a park . . . (he speaks a lot about the need for a park) but I don't think that the prisons are useless . . . ***but it is more important to cover the present needs, so I opt for the park.***

(No interviewer question has preceded the student's response. The following is an excerpt from the April interview).

(d) Vangelis: . . . when they were sure that the space was not of any other archaeological use, then a centre could be built on it ***that would be for the benefit of the youth*** and for the whole area. I believe that people should opt for an athletic centre because ***oxygen is more important*** in our époque, we need it as a country and as a city.

10. ***Not pleasant***

(a) Eleni: I would say that the space ought to be used in a way that corresponds more to the needs of the locals (so the prison ought to be demolished) ***because there are other needs as well and after all it is not even a beautiful place.***

Interviewer: Though, one would tell you that in this way a part of history will be forgotten, what would you answer?

Eleni: Again the same, that it is a relic, no one likes seeing buildings almost demolished . . . ***it is not pleasant*** and prisons . . . it is not even something of interest, (I think she meant 'important') . . . to tell something of history, ok, there were other prisons as well.

Interviewer: If you were asked to contribute to the publication of the poems of someone that died in the prison, what would you say?

Eleni: It depends on the poems.

(b) Interviewer: Myrto?

Myrto: I think it should be demolished because ***dictatorship has been a bad sign of the past*** and ***it is not that pleasant to remember it.***

Interviewer: If something is unpleasant should we forget all about it?

Myrto: This specifically? Yes.

Interviewer: Why is dictatorship unpleasant to remember?

Myrto: There was violence, people could not express themselves.

(c) Interviewer: Why is history taught?

Eleni: To get to know our roots, how civilisations, like the Greek civilisation, were formed.

Interviewer: Isn't dictatorship part of our history? It doesn't say things about our identity? It's not our roots?

Eleni: ***Yes, but it is not something pleasant.***

Interviewer: It repulses us?

Eleni: Yes.

Interviewer: Why?

Eleni: ***It doesn't praise us.***

(d) Interviewer: It is one thing to search for and see photographs in an album (Haris has suggested to photograph the monument and then demolish it) and completely different to be able to see the monument every morning as you go to work.

Haralabos: They are not going to be ***pleasant memories*** on the other hand.

11. ***Not flattering***

Interviewer: . . . so what repulses us, is that we do not have pleasant memories, pleasant from what point of view? Maria, for example, spoke about violence, what about you?

Haralambos: The violence and ***our misery with the Dictatorship*** . . . (by the Greek word he used, he adopts a critical stance toward the people that let it happen, along the same lines with "it doesn't praise us").

12. An unclassified pattern relating to the condition of the remains as a reason for their retention.

(a) Haralambos: I think that the prison should be demolished, ***because after all it is a relic,*** to see the wall of a prison doesn't offer you anything, ***if it was the whole of it,*** that could possibly offer you some memory, but seeing a wall with no other sign at all, ***this is just a relic.***

Interviewer: If the whole space was transformed to inform people, would anything change?

Haralambos: The space transformed ***but not the whole of it?***

Interviewer: Why not, after all what do you see in Knossos or Phaestos?

Haralabos: Knossos or Phaestos are one thing and ***the prison's wall*** is another thing. It is one thing to remember the prison and another thing to remember Knossos or Phaestos.

(Aristomenis explained why he opted for the archaeological site and the neoclassical house in the preservation exercise task).

(b) Aristomenis: It is very important to see ***which ones are better preserved.*** A Byzantine church, ***if the whole of it remains,*** and if it has perfectly preserved murals, is more precious than an archaeological space which might be ***just remains,*** we have to judge its current condition.

(During the prison task students were offered an alternative option o discuss, an archaeological site).

(c) Chronis: ***It would depend on its condition,*** how good its condition would be. ***If it was just relics*** I would opt for the park. Why would it be of any worth at all? It is one thing to see the Acropolis and another thing ***to see stones*** not knowing what they really are.

Aristomenis compared different criteria:

(d) Aristomenis: A Byzantine church, as it used to be, is more precious than ancient remains, if one can find an archaeological site as well preserved, or perhaps a bit less

. . .

Interviewer: That is difficult . . .

Aristomenis: Yes it is difficult. On the other hand I would consider the archaeological site to be more precious because it is older.

There were two possible reasons for the students' insistence on the above patterns: Students either bear a 'naïve' concept of historical evidence or demonstrate a disciplinary interest and knowledge. To test this I asked them about 'sources' in history, and especially whether there are 'perfect' sources.

Michalis: . . . there are no perfect sources because one cannot be absolutely objective, information on the other hand was not available then, one was in no position of knowing what was happening anywhere . . . so we have to check those sources that we believe they were objective, and end with a conclusion closest to reality.

Chronis: There is no 'perfect' source, because the writer cannot help being subjective, he reflects the way of thinking of his époque and that will pass to his work. It can be done in a discrete way or he might just say, 'this is what I believe'.

Aristomenis: There are no good or bad sources, there are just good or less good. Sources do not give us exactly what we want, we have to select what is interesting for us, what is more objective and we have to compare them.

13. *The past as experience*

(The excerpt below is from discussion with students about whether war can ever be justified).

Giannis: I don't think that a war can ever be justified. The wars ***are never*** what they seemed . . . the reality never reflects what is said, people are ***always*** waging war in pursuit of some interest that benefits only a few people from each country (I think he means 'profit'), all the others lose their lives and their homes just for a few to be able to gain money, that is why war is never justified.

Interviewer: How could you justify that?

Giannis: ***In all previous wars*** this is what has happened.

Interviewer: Can you refer to an example?

Giannis: In all these wars that are happening now that I am living, and in the Second World War . . .

APPENDIX B. (Chapter three)

The tasks

A1) SUMMARY TABLE OF THE TASKS (MAIN AND PILOT)

<table>
<tr><th>PILOTS</th><th>MAIN RESEARCH</th></tr>
<tr><td>APRIL 2003
1) The 'archaeological site' task
You are living in a small town where a new sports center is going to be built. Works begin and an archaeological site is discovered. You are called to vote as you have children and your neighbourhood lacks open space. How would you vote: for or against the preservation of the archaeological site?

2) The 'war' task
Your country is involved in a war aiding the traditionally and historically 'ally' country, a war that is unjustified and unfair. How do you think you would react if you were either of recruitment age or below recruitment age?</td><td rowspan="2">FEBRUARY-MARCH 2004
1) The three different issues task
(the environment task, the Elgin marbles task, the vote task)

2) The preservation task
A road is being constructed and the following are threatened: a 5th cent. BC temple, a neoclassical building, a watermill of the 19th cent., a political prison, a Byzantine church, the house of a very important poet. Which ones would you prefer to preserve if you had to select among the above options?

3) The change task
What sort of changes do you think might affect most our lives in the next thiry years?

4) The narrative task
Narrate briefly Greece's history.</td></tr>
<tr><td>SEPTEMBER 2003
1) The 'prison' task
An area with the remains of a prison used throughout the period of political oppression is declared 'lieu de memoir' by the state. It also constitutes the only open space for the local population. If you lived in that area would you opt for the preservation of the prison?

2) The preservation task
A road is being constructed and the following will be threatened: a 6th cent. archaeological site, a Byzantine church, a neoclassical building, an old factory, the house of the national poet, a lake. Which two would you prefer to preserve if you had to select one of the above options?</td></tr>
</table>

A2) SUMMARY TABLE OF THE TASKS

WRITTEN SAMPLE	INTERVIEWS TASKS
The two different issues task - The environment task - The Elgin marbles task	**The three different issues task** - The environment task - The Elgin marbles task - The vote task
The preservation task (four options) **A road is being constructed and the following will be threatened:** a. A 5th cent. B.C. temple b. A neoclassical building c. A prison that has been used for political prisoners throughout the German Occupation period and the Dictatorship d. A Byzantine church Which ones would you prefer to preserve if you had to select among the above options?	**The preservation task (six options)** A road is being constructed and the following will be threatened: a. A 5th cent. B.C. temple b. A neoclassical building of the 19th cent. c. A traditional manufacture unit of the 19th century, a 'watermill' d. A prison that has been used for political prisoners throughout the German Occupation and the Dictatorship e. A Byzantine church f. The house of a very important for Greece modern poet. Which ones would you prefer to preserve if you had to select among the above options?
The change task -What sort of changes do you think might affect our lives most in the next thirty years? - Why do you think that the specific changes might be considered as the most probable?	**The change task** - What sort of changes do you think might affect our lives most in the next thirty years? - Why do you think that the specific changes might be considered as the most probable?
	The narrative task Narrate briefly Greece's history.

B1) INTERVIEW PROTOCOL (main data collection).

PART A

1. A big motorway is to be constructed. This work is meant to be a relief for the traffic problem of Athens but it is also estimated that it will have consequences regarding the environment. You were asked to vote for a decision to be made.

a1. What would you decide?

☐ The road to be constructed, because works of that type constitute a part of the city development

☐ Not to be constructed because the environment is affected

a2. Why?

b. What would you need to know to decide?

---

2. What would you need to know to vote in the national elections?

---

3. In 1801 lord Elgin, with Ottoman permission took sculptures from the Parthenon on the Acropolis. In 1974, for the first time, the Greek government put forward a claim for their return to Greece, the claim addressed the UN:

a1. Do you think that Greece should insist on the marbles' return to Greece?

yes/no, because.....

b. What would you need to know to make up your mind?

(After the first round was completed) Would the knowledge of the past help you in your decision?

Figure 3.2. The interview protocol. (continued)

PART B

4. A road is being constructed and the following will be threatened:

☐ a. A 5th cent. BC temple

☐ b. A neoclassical building of the 19th century

☐ c. A traditional manufacture unit of the 19th century, a 'watermill'

☐ d. A prison that had been used for political prisoners throughout the German Occupation period and the Dictatorship

☐ e. A Byzantine church

☐ f. The house of a very important Greek modern poet

Which ones would you prefer to preserve if you had to select among the above options? Please number the boxes in an order of preference (you may use number -1- for two of your choices if the choice is difficult; in that case your last choice will be the 5th).

Please justify the 1st and the 6th choice of yours:

My first choice/ choices .....

I consider less important.....

PART C

5a. What sort of changes do you think might affect our lives most in the next thirty years?

5b. Why would you think that the specific changes might be considered as the most probable?

---

6. Narrate briefly Greece's history.

B2) WRITTEN INSTRUMENTS (main data collection).

PART A

1. A big motorway is to be constructed. This work is meant to be a relief for the traffic problem of Athens but it is also estimated that it will have consequences regarding the environment. If you were asked to vote for a decision to be made, what would you choose?

a1. What would you decide?

☐ The road to be constructed, because works of that type constitute part of the city development

☐ Not to be constructed because the environment is affected

a2. Why?

b. What would you need to know in order to decide?

2. In 1801 lord Elgin using an Ottoman permission took sculptures from the Parthenon on the Acropolis. In 1974, for the first time, the Greek government put a forward claim for their return to Greece, the claim addressed the UN:

a1. Do you think that Greece should insist on the marbles' return to Greece?

yes/no, because ...

b. What would you need to know in order to make up your mind?

PART B

3. A road is being constructed and the following will be threatened:

☐ a. A 5th cent. BC temple

☐ b. A neoclassical building

☐ c. A prison that had been used for political prisoners throughout the German Occupation period and the Dictatorship

☐ d. A Byzantine church

Which ones would you prefer to preserve if you had to select among the above options? Please number the boxes in an order of preference (you may use number -1- for two of your choices if the choice is difficult; in that case your last choice will be the 3rd).

Please justify the 1st and the 4th choice of yours:

My first choice/choices...

I consider less important...

4a. What sort of changes do you think might affect most our lives in the next thirty years?

4b. Why would you think that the specific changes might be considered as the most probable?

PART C

5a. In question (1), about the road construction, does the knowledge of the past help you in your decision?

yes, no, because.....

5b. In question (2), about the Elgin Marbles, does the knowledge of the past help you in your decision?

yes, no, because.....

Note: the written tasks were presented on students' papers in exactly the same order and in the same way, on four different pages, as they appear here

B3) INTERVIEW PROTOCOL (the original Greek interview protocol)
ΠΡΩΤΟΚΟΛΛΟ ΣΥΝΕΝΤΕΥΞΗΣ

Α' ΜΕΡΟΣ

1. Πρόκειται να κατασκευαστεί ένας μεγάλος αυτοκινητόδρομος. Αναμένεται ότι ενώ το έργο αυτό θα ανακουφίσει από άποψη κυκλοφορίας την Αθήνα, θα έχει συνέπειες όσον αφορά το περιβάλλον. Με δεδομένο τα παραπάνω, και εάν σας ζητούσαν να ψηφίσετε προκειμένου να ληφθεί μια απόφαση,

α1. τι θα αποφασίζατε;

☐ να κατασκευαστεί ο δρόμος, διότι το οδικό δίκτυο είναι μέρος της ανάπτυξης της πόλης

☐ να σταματήσει η επέκταση επειδή υπάρχουν επιβαρύνσεις στο περιβάλλον

α2. γιατί;

β. τι θα θέλατε να γνωρίζετε παραπάνω προκειμένου να διαμορφώσετε άποψη;

2. Τι θα θέλατε να γνωρίζετε προκειμένου να ψηφίσετε;

3. Το 1801 ο λόρδος Έλγιν χρησιμοποιώντας γραπτή άδεια του τότε Σουλτάνου, απέσπασε γλυπτά από τον Παρθενώνα στην Ακρόπολη. Το 1974 τέθηκε για πρώτη φορά από την ελληνική κυβέρνηση θέμα επιστροφής τους στην Ελλάδα με σχετική πρόταση που έγινε στον ΟΗΕ:

α. πιστεύετε ότι σωστά επιμένει η Ελλάδα όσον αφορά την επιστροφή των μαρμάρων στη χώρα μας;
ναι / όχι, διότι

β. τι θα θέλατε να γνωρίζετε προκειμένου να πάρετε την απόφασή σας;

Αφού ολοκληρώθηκε ο πρώτος γύρος των ερωτήσεων οι μαθητές ρωτήθηκαν:
Η γνώση του παρελθόντος θα σας βοηθούσε στην απόφασή σας;

Β' ΜΕΡΟΣ

4. Αν με μελλοντική κατασκευή δρόμου, τα παρακάτω κτίρια πρόκειται ν' απειληθούν ποια θα επιλέγατε να σώσετε και με ποια σειρά;

☐ α. Ένα ναό του 5ου αιώνα π.Χ.

☐ β. Ένα νεοκλασσικό κτίριο του 19ου αιώνα.

☐ γ. Μια παραδοσιακή βιοτεχνική μονάδα του 19ου αιώνα, ένα νερόμυλο.

☐ δ. Μία φυλακή που είχε χρησιμοποιηθεί για πολιτικούς κρατούμενους κατά τη διάρκεια της Κατοχής και της Δικτατορίας.

☐ ε. Μια Βυζαντινή εκκλησία.

☐ ζ. Το σπίτι ενός πολύ σημαντικού Έλληνα ποιητή.

Αιτιολογήστε την [1η] και την [6η] επιλογή σας.

Γ' ΜΕΡΟΣ

5α. Ποιες αλλαγές πιστεύετε ότι θα επηρεάσουν περισσότερο τη ζωή μας τα επόμενα τριάντα χρόνια;

5β. Αιτιολογήστε την απόφασή σας;

6. Διηγηθείτε σύντομα την ιστορία της Ελλάδας.
(προσπαθήστε να δώσετε χαρακτηριστικά θέματα αλλά όχι γεγονότα)

B4) WRITTEN INSTRUMENTS (the original Greek questionnaire)

ΓΡΑΠΤΟ ΕΡΩΤΗΜΑΤΟΛΟΓΙΟ

Α' ΜΕΡΟΣ

1. Πρόκειται να κατασκευαστεί ένας μεγάλος αυτοκινητόδρομος. Αναμένεται ότι ενώ το έργο αυτό θα ανακουφίσει από άποψη κυκλοφορίας την Αθήνα, θα έχει συνέπειες όσον αφορά το περιβάλλον. Με δεδομένο τα παραπάνω, και εάν σας ζητούσαν να ψηφίσετε προκειμένου να ληφθεί μια απόφαση,

α1. τι θα αποφασίζατε;

☐ να κατασκευαστεί ο δρόμος, διότι το οδικό δίκτυο είναι μέρος της ανάπτυξης της πόλης

☐ να σταματήσει η επέκταση επειδή υπάρχουν επιβαρύνσεις στο περιβάλλον

α2. γιατί;

β. τι θα θέλατε να γνωρίζετε παραπάνω προκειμένου να διαμορφώσετε άποψη;

---

2. Το 1801 ο λόρδος Έλγιν χρησιμοποιώντας γραπτή άδεια του τότε Σουλτάνου, απέσπασε γλυπτά από τον Παρθενώνα στην Ακρόπολη. Το 1974 τέθηκε για πρώτη φορά από την ελληνική κυβέρνηση θέμα επιστροφής τους στην Ελλάδα με πρόταση που έγινε στον ΟΗΕ:

α. πιστεύετε ότι σωστά επιμένει η Ελλάδα όσον αφορά την επιστροφή των μαρμάρων στη χώρα μας;

ναι / όχι, διότι

β. τι θα θέλατε να γνωρίζετε προκειμένου να πάρετε την απόφασή σας;

Β' ΜΕΡΟΣ

3. Αν με μελλοντική κατασκευή δρόμου, τα παρακάτω κτίρια πρόκειται ν' απειληθούν ποια θα επιλέγατε να σώσετε και με ποια σειρά;

☐ α. Ένα ναό του 5ου αιώνα π.Χ.

☐ β. Ένα νεοκλασσικό κτίριο του 19ου αιώνα.

☐ δ. Μία φυλακή που είχε χρησιμοποιηθεί για πολιτικούς κρατούμενους κατά τη διάρκεια της Κατοχής και της Δικτατορίας.

☐ ε. Μια Βυζαντινή εκκλησία.

Μπορείτε να χρησιμοποιήσετε τον αριθμό - 1 - για δύο επιλογές σας, σε αυτήν την περίπτωση η τελευταία επιλογή σας θα έχει τον αριθμό - 3 -.

Αιτιολογήστε την [1η] και την [4η] επιλογή σας.

Η πρώτη μου επιλογή είναι η ----------

Θεωρώ λιγότερο σημαντικό ----------

4α. Ποιες αλλαγές πιστεύετε ότι θα επηρεάσουν περισσότερο τη ζωή μας τα επόμενα τριάντα χρόνια;

4β. Αιτιολογήστε την απόφασή σας;

Γ' ΜΕΡΟΣ

5α. Θα μπορούσε η γνώση του παρελθόντος να βοηθήσει στην απόφασή σας για την κατασκευή του δρόμου;

Ναι, όχι, διότι ----------

5β. Θα μπορούσε η γνώση του παρελθόντος να βοηθήσει στην απόφασή σας σε σχέση με τα Ελγίνεια;

Ναι, όχι, διότι ----------

Units of analysis-examples

Units of analysis in this study are the researcher's conceptualizations of students' constructs or my 'concepts'. Students' constructs or thoughts were "taken as potential indicators of phenomena, which were thereby given conceptual labels" (Corbin and Strauss: 1990: 7). These labels actually constituted the names of the categories. Students' constructs were not syntactically defined units but semantically defined units; they usually constituted justifications students gave for their choices in several tasks.

Examples

A) Three 'concepts/constructs' were identified in the paragraph below:

> **Ioulia, (2402a, excerpt from the main data colection)**
> **Question: Should Greece insist on the return of the Elgin marbles?**
> Ioulia: I also believe that the marbles should be returned (to Greece), because they represent Greek civilization, because Greek people worked hard and put a great effort to create whatever they created and it is not possible to have some foreign tyrant coming now and taking whatever belongs to Greece and using them as display articles in his own country, when normally it isn't something that belongs to him, on the contrary it is something he acquired through sly thinking, when there was no negotiation with Greece, he could have asked, offered money perhaps, I don't know whether this actually happened.

1. ... because they represent the Greek civilization,

category or concept: 'monument (past) as identity'

2. ... because Greek people worked hard and put a great effort to create whatever they created ***category or concept: 'past as debt'***

3. ... when normally it isn't something that belongs to him, on the contrary it is something he acquired having sly thinking, when there was no negotiation with Greece, he could have asked, offered money perhaps, I don't know whether this actually happened. ***category or concept: 'past as evidence'***

B) One 'concept/construct' was identified in the paragraph below:

Marianthi (3003, excerpt from the main data collection)

Question: Would the Greek political history of the 19th century inform your vote?

Marianthi: I don't think that we need that type of knowledge now in order to vote, because then (in the 19th century) they were in a way trying to rebuild Greece and the new state, on the contrary now there is a state with many problems and these problems have to be solved.

Category or concept: past rejected because 'it is different (not relevant) from the present'

APPENDIX C. (Chapter four)

Descriptive statistics: students' endorsement of the past

Guide for the categories:

CATEGORIES	CATEGORIES IN THE TABLES
What would you need to know in order to decide about the road issue?	**'envi'**
Would the knowledge of the past help you in your decision?	**'envi past'**
Do you think that Greece should insist on the Elgin's marbles' return to Greece?	**'Elgin back'**
What would you need to know in order to make up your mind?	**'Elgin'**
Would the knowledge of the past help you in your decision?	**'Elgin past'**
What would you need to know in order to vote?	**'vote'**
Would the knowledge of the past help you in your decision?	**'vote past'**
Would the remote past of a political party influence you? (since it was founded)	**'vote past re'**
Would the Greek political history of the 19th century inform your vote?	**'vote 19th'**
TEMPLE (5th cent BC)	**'temple'**
NEOCLASSICAL (19th cent)	**'neoc'**
WATERMILL (19th cent)	**'mill'**
BYZANTINE	**'church'**
HOUSE OF GREEK POET	**'poet'**
If you woke up one morning and you found that you had forgotten everything, what would that mean for your life?	**'no memory'**
Finally, is history useful for our life?	**'history useful'**
Would the knowledge of the past help you to decide about the 'change' issue?	**'change past'**

ENDORSEMENT of the past

A) Past relevant to identity

	CATEGORIES	EXAMPLE	TASKS	no
A1a	**past as 'debt'**	'the prison is worth being preserved … we remember some people's struggles, we remember ***how some people sacrificed for us …'***, Panos (0903, prison).	prison 15 Elgin back 1 Elgin past 7 no memory 1	**24**
A1b	**past that defines us as a people (national identity)**	'history helps a lot, ***first in order for us to know who we are,*** so as to say that we are Greeks, and what this would mean …' Panagiota (0403 history useful)	history useful 1 vote 19th 2 no memory 2	**05**
A1c	**(the material past) that asserts or materializes our national identity**	'… the marbles are our ***heritage*** and ***our identity*** …' Anastasia (2602a Elgin).	Elgin 10 Elgin back 14 Elgin past 21 temple16 / neoc 2 poet 12 / church 7 mill 1 / prison 2	**85**
A1d	**past as ideology**	Interviewer: Can you think of any other ***use of the past*** you make in order to vote? Alexis: ***An ideology*** that I have experienced … (0903)	vote past 11 vote 5 vote 19th 3 vote past re 5	**24**

Note: (no) is the number of students that produced the constructs above

A) Past relevant to identity

	CATEGORIES	EXAMPLE	TASKS	no
A2a	**as personal/part of our experience**	'I believe that the knowledge of the 19th history would not help me, because I would vote judging from the present circumstances, because ***I was not living then to see*** in which circumstances they voted ', Anna (2502, vote 19th).	vote 19th 2 vote past 2 vote past re 1[1] prison 2	**07**
A2b	**(the material past) that asserts, materialises and intensifies lived experience**	'there are things ***that cannot be described by words, it is one thing to live it*** and another thing to see it one hundred years later, from your point of view and while you are reading at ease, it is not the same sentiments, ***it is impossible to describe by words the event that one has experienced*** ..., Kostas (0903, prison).	prison 1 Elgin back 1 neoc 1	**03**
A3	**as condition of the present**	'The knowledge of the past played a very important role (to the Elgin marbles issue) because it is on what has already happe - ned so far that ***we depend*** our decisions today', Ioulia (2402a, Elgin past).	Elgin past 3 Elgin back 1 envi past 2 no memory 12 / prison 1 vote 1/vote past 1 vote 19th 1	**22**

[1] Lena (1003) here actually 'rejects' the remote past because she can have no experience of it. The same applies to Anna (2502a) and Prokopis (0203b) who 'deny' the 19th century past because they can have no direct experience of it.

B) Past relevant to our problems

	CATEGORIES	EXAMPLE	TASKS	no
B1	**exemplary**	Interviewer: What would you need to know in order to decide about the environment /road problem? Ioulia: Some ***other examples*** of roads that have been constructed in the past (2402a).	envi 1/envi past 45 vote past 1 vote 19th 8 history useful 2 past present 1 change past 1[1]	**59**
B2	**past that clarifies circumstances the 'judicial/ legalistic' past**	'[I would like to know] under which circumstances these marbles were taken, ***who gave Elgin the permission*** to take them away', Nikos (2502a, Elgin)	Elgin past 22 Elgin 10 Elgin back 2	**34**
B3	**past as evidence**	'I would base my judgement on a party that would have been in power before, in order to see what part of the promises the party ***realized*** when it was in power, Lakis (0402, vote past)	vote 18 vote past 33 vote past re 2	**53**

C) Significant past

	CATEGORIES	EXAMPLE	TASKS	no
C	**(the material past) which represents significant historical themes, activities, civilizations**	'... most of the Byzantine churches are considered to be excellent creations from the ***architecture*** point of view and from the ***religion*** point of and they indicate man's faith, the Byzantine era has been ***the first Christian period ...'*** Anastasia (0203a).	church 25 temple 8 poet 8 prison 4 neoc 1	**46**

[1] The question was: 'is the past related at all to the present?' The latter was an additional question asked at the end of the interview only to one group.

D1) Desired past (aesthetically appealing)

	CATEGORIES	EXAMPLE	TASKS	no
D1	**past aesthetically appealing**	'neoclassical buildings make Athens more beautiful' Nikos (2502a)	neoc 10 church 1 temple 1 mill 1	**13**

D2) Desired past (remote past)

	CATEGORIES	EXAMPLE	TASKS	no
D2a	**remote as old**	'I selected first the 5th temple because I think that ***it is the most ancient building from all'***, Angela (1703).	Elgin back 1/mill 1 temple 27 church 9 neoc 1	**39**
D2b	**past items that are rare**	'I select the Byzantine church because Byzantine churches are so rare', Aliki (1703b)	church 3 temple 5 mill 2 neoc 4	**14**
D2c	**(the material past) that asserts/materializes 'not experienced' events**	'It is something significant, ***we wouldn't find it again,*** it wouldn't perhaps mean a lot to me because I wasn't living in those years, but for some elder … these (events) ought to have marked his life … monuments are really more important for someone 'not related' to the events, ***for someone that sees it (the monument) and learns how it was then'*** Panos (0903, prison)	prison 2 poet 2 church 1 temple 3 mill 1	**09**
D2d	**past as different and good to know (historical past)**	'I select the 19th century watermill because it gives us evidence (στοιχεία) about ***how the 19th century people used to live'***, Dimitra (2602a)	church 5 temple 19 mill 24 neoc 8 prison 5 poet 6 vote past 2 history useful 1	**70**

APPENDIX D. (Chapter five)

Descriptive statistics: students' rejection of the past

REJECTION of the past

A) The past is not relevant to our identity

	CATEGORIES	EXAMPLE	TASKS	no
A	**(the material past) that does NOT assert/materialize our national identity**	'I selected the political prison sixth because the latter ***is not offering anything to our cultural identity,*** nothing but bad memories', Christos (2402b)	prison 1 temple 1 neoc 3	**05**

B) The past is not relevant to our problems

	CATEGORIES	EXAMPLE	TASKS	no
B1	**things or conditions today are different**	'no (the 19th century history would not be useful) because there have been ***so many changes*** since then, the situations are ***so different*** now and people's ideas as well', Panagio tis (1703, vote 19th).	vote 19th 15 vote past re 20 vote past 7 vote 1 envi past 10	**53**
B2	**certain past items can no longer be used**	'I selected the watermill as fifth because with the development of technology ***we are having better means now*** to accomplish what the watermill was constructed for, so in the end the watermill ***is no longer needed'***, Anastasia (2502a)	mill 8	**10**

C) Past not significant enough to be historic

	CATEGORIES	EXAMPLE	TASKS	no
C1	**environment is not historic**	'I want to say that, concerning environment, it is only right to know the past, because ***if there were ancient civilizations on the specific spot*** ...' Loukas (2502b)	envi	**05**
C2	**certain events do not constitute 'history'**	'... the manufacture is not something sensational, a watermill cannot be something sensational ... it reminds us of the old times and of how we were then, but I cannot consider it as important because it provoked no changes in history', Aliki, 1703b	mill 7 neoc 1 prison 2	**10**

D1) Past not desired (the ugly and not flattering past)

	CATEGORIES	EXAMPLE	TASKS	no
D1a	**the 'ugly' past**	'... ***ugly moments*** come to my memory, because I prefer seeing a temple to seeing a prison, a prison where people were restricted in an unfair way' Amalia (1203).	prison 19 history useful 1[1]	**20**
D1b	**the not flattering past**	'The 19th century period was a turmoil period (αναταραχή) through out which the Greek state was trying to reconstruct itself and ***it doesn't appear as a period of great development and acme like the 5th century BC.'***, Panagiotis (3003)	neoc 1	**1**

[1] Panagiota (0403) says: ... no need to stick to the past when the latter has been bad ... (κακό)

D2) Past not desired (the 'easily accessible' past)

	CATEGORIES	EXAMPLE	TASKS	no
D2a	**past not old enough**	' ... (I selected as fifth the neoclassical building) because it is ***more recent,*** therefore I do not think it is that important, Marinella (1603)	neoc 2 poet 1 mill 1	**04**
D2b	**past items that are abundant**	Interviewer: Why do you opt for the mill instead of the neoclassical? Marinella: Because having lived in a town, I have seen ***more neoclassical buildings*** than mills, Marinella (1603).	neoc 14 church 5 mill 3	**22**
D2c	**past (information) available from other sources**	'it wouldn't be important to visit a poet's house, ***we don't need his house as a monument, we have his poems'***, Marinella (1603)	poet 8 prison 2 mill 1 neoc 1	**12**

The above categories are based on 20 interviews, 60 students' transcripts.

Types of tasks that produced certain constructs

QUESTIONS AND CONSTRUCTS

First task: the three different issues set (environment, vote, Elgin Marbles)

ENVIRONMENT (road construction issue)

QUESTIONS	students use the past	students dismiss the past
What would you need to know in order to decide about the road issue[1]?	***exemplary (B1)*** 'similar events', or 'other cases'	
Would the knowledge of the past help you in your decision?	***exemplary (B1)*** 'similar events' or 'other cases'	• ***exemplary, NO*** *'similar events', 'other cases'* ***(B1)*** • ***not history (C1)*** (an environmental problem is not a historical problem) • ***'things/conditions today are different (B1)***

[1] The extension of the existing road might be a relief for the traffic problem but it might also endanger the environment.

ELGIN MARBLES

QUESTIONS	students use the past	students dismiss the past
Do you think that Greece should insist on the marbles' return to Greece?	•***the material past that asserts our national identity (A1c)*** •***past that clarifies circumstances (B2)*** •***the material past which represents significant historical themes, activities, civilizations (C)*** •***the material past that asserts a 'lived' experience (A2b)***	
What would you need to know in order to make up your mind?	•***the material past that asserts our national identity (A1c)***[1](two excerpts only) • ***past that clarifies circumstances (B2)***	

[1]a) Alexia (0203b): ***I would like to know*** whether they preserve the marbles in Britain, we would preserve them better since they are ours …

Interviewer: How do you know that they are ours?

Alexia: ***We have created them***

b) Anastasia (0203a): ***I would like to know*** whether Elgin took the marbles in order to protect them … we were under Ottoman Occupation then … ***on the other hand they are ours,*** it is our civilization, ***Greece created these monuments …***

ELGIN MARBLES

Would the knowledge of the past help you in your deci - sion?	•***the material past that as – serts our national identity (A1c)*** •***past that clarifies circumstances (B2)*** •***past as 'debt'(A1a)*** • ***personal past (A2)*** •***past as different but appealing (D2d)*** •***past as a condition of the present (A3)***	• ***exemplary, NO*** *'simi- lar events', 'other cases'* ***(B1)***

POLITICAL VOTE

QUESTIONS	students use the past	students dismiss the past
What would you need to know in order to vote?	•***past as evidence (B3)*** •***past as ideology (A1d)*** •***past as a condition of the present (A3)***	***'thing or conditions today are different(B1)*** (only one excerpt)[1]
Would the knowledge of the past help you in your deci - sion?	•***past as evidence (B3)*** •***past as ideology (A1d)*** •***past as personal (A2a)*** •***past as a condition to the present (A3)*** •***paradigmatic(B1)*** •***past as good to know (D2e) (the historical past)***	***'things or conditions today are different (B1)***
Would the remote past of a political party influence you? (since it was founded)	•***past as ideology (A1d)*** •***past as personal (A2a)***	***'things or conditions today are different (B1)***
Would the Greek political history of the 19th century inform your vote?	•***past as ideology (A1d)*** •***past as personal (A2a)*** •***past as a condition to the present (A3)*** •***past that defines 'us' (A1b) (national identity)*** •***past as different and good to know (D2d)*** •***exemplary (B1)***	***'things or conditions today are different (B1)***

[1] What would you need to know in order to vote?

Ioulia (2402a): ... I would like to know the principles according to which this party is founded, and as of the age (of the voter), it is not that important, because even an experienced voter, he can still be indecisive many times, because many things change, everything changes so it is difficult to decide ***(the previous student had said that it would be difficult for the 15 year olds to know what to vote, or to have criteria)***

Second task: the preservation task (temple, neoclassical, mill, prison, church, poet)

temple of the 5th BC cent	neoclassical b. of the 19th c	watermill, 19th century
•*the material past that as - serts our national identity (A1c)* •*the material past which represents significant historical themes, activities, civilizations (C)* •*past aesthetically appealing (D1)* •*past as old (D2a)* •*(the material past) that materializes 'not experienced' events(D2c)* • *past items that are rare (D2b)* •*past as different and good to know (D2d)*	•*the material past that asserts a lived experience (A2b)* • *past aesthetically appealing (D1)* •*past as old (D2a)* • *past items that are rare (D2b)* •*past as good to know (D2d) (the "historical past")* **PAST REJECTED** •*not that does NOT assert our national identity (A)* •*the 'not significant' past (C2)* •*the 'not flattering' past (D1b)* •*past items that exist in abundance (D2b)* •*past available from other sources (D2c)*	•*the material past that asserts our national identity (A1c)* (only one excerpt) •*the material past that materializes 'not experienced' events (D2c)* •*past as different and good to know (D2d) (the "historical" past)* **PAST REJECTED** •*past items can no longer be used (B2)* •*the 'not significant' past (C2)* • *past items that exist in abundance (D2b)* • *past available from other sources (D2c)*
PAST REJECTED • *past that does NOT assert or our national identity (A)*		

Byzantine church	house of a modern Greek poet
•*the material past that asserts our national identity (A1c)* •*(the material past) which represents significant historical themes, activities (C)* •*past aesthetically appealing (D1)* •*past as old (D2a)* •*(the material past) that materializes not 'experienced events'(D2c)* • *past items that are rare (D2b)* •*the "historical" past (D2d)*	•*the material past that asserts our national identity (A1c)* •*the material past which represents significant historical themes, activities (C)* •*(the material past) that materializes 'not experienced' events (D2c)* •*past as different and good to know (D2e) (the "historical" past)*
PAST REJECTED •*past items that exist in abundance (D2b)*	**PAST REJECTED** • *past available from other sources (D2c)*

Questions at the end of the interview

QUESTIONS	students use the past	students dismiss the past
If you woke up one morning and you found that you had forgotten everything what would that mean for your life?	•***past as a condition of the present (A3)*** •***past as debt (A1a)***[1]	
Is the end useful for one to know the past?	•***past that defines us as a people (A1b)*** •***exemplary (B1)***	
Would the knowledge of the past help you to decide about the 'change' issue?	•***exemplary (B1)***[2]	

[1] 'past as debt': only one example, while the typical answer ('past as a condition of the present') appeared eight times.

[2] There was only one interview throughout the main data collection (out of the twenty) in which I asked 'directly' about the past in the 'change' task. From this interview (2502a) two students used the 'exemplary' construct.

Did students finally refer to the past?

(Descriptive statistics)

- Students' stances towards the past changed depending on the (indirect/direct) way of asking (the 'three different issues' and the 'change' task).

Table 1. The 'three different issues' task: indirect approach.

	PAST NAMED	PAST NOT NAMED	IMPLICIT PAST	NO PAST	No.
environment indirect	0	05	0	52	57
vote indirect	18	11	0	31	60
Elgin indirect	07	17	0	33	57

Table 2. The 'three different issues' task: direct approach.

	PAST NAMED	PAST NOT NAMED	IMPLICIT PAST	NO PAST	No.
environment direct	40	04	0	13	57
vote direct	49	0	0	11	60
Elgin direct	54	0	02[1]	1	57

[1] One student was Themos (2402a) who developed "the marbles are ours … but history plays no role in this case" rationale; the second student was Aliki (1703b): although she referred to the Elgin story — she actually called the abduction of the marbles "unfair" — she denied any relationship to the past. Other excerpts where students made reference to "heritage" or displayed an identity rationale connecting to the past at some point, led me to interpret also the above excerpts (Themos and Aliki) as implicit reference to the past.

Notes in relation to tables 1 and 2:

• An *indirect* question is a question when the interviewer makes no explicit reference to the past, like: what would you need to know in order to decide about …

• A *PAST NOT NAMED* answer is a student's answer that does not include the words "past" or "history"; students often referred to 'substantive' past knowledge, to events or to past examples without generalizing about the past.

• An *IMPLICIT PAST* answer indicates a past's use by students who are not aware of the fact that they were using the past; students' answers may be interpreted as *implicit pasts* even if students explicitly rejected the past at some point in their responses.

Table 3. The change task: indirect approach.

YES (past named)	**PAST NOT NAMED**	**IMPLICIT PAST the 'extended' present**	**ATEMPORAL** substantive protocols **(possibly an 'implicit' past)**	**No.**
08	10	36	05	58

Note: the above figures added give 59 and this is due to the fact that one student gave responses that were later classified in two categories; he first used an atemporal protocol and then his arguments developed into a use of the present as a recent past.

Tables 1,2 and 3 suggest an unconscious use of the past made by the students: students refer to the past only when the interviewer asks them directly about it.

- Students' stances towards the past changed depending on the past period. (the 'vote' task).

The following tables describe students changing attitudes towards the past when different time periods were used in the 'vote' task:

Questions:

VOTE: What would you need to know in order to vote? (indirect question).

VOTE PAST: Would the knowledge of the past help you in order to vote?

VOTE PAST RE: Would the knowledge of the remote past of the political parties help you in order to vote?

VOTE 19th: Would the knowledge of the political history of Greece in the 19th century help you in order to vote?

Answers:

PAST column in the tables: number of students who 'endorsed' the past

NO PAST column in the tables: number of students who 'rejected' the past

Table 4. Recent & 19th cent. past in the 'vote' task.

TASK	PAST	NO PAST	No.
vote	15	19	34
vote past	25	09	34
political past of the 19th century	15	19	34

Table 5. Recent & remote past in the 'vote' task.

TASK	PAST	NO PAST	No.
vote	14	17	31
vote past	23	08	31
remote past of political parties	09	22	31

Tables 4 and 5 suggest students' inclination to 'reject' the remote past: students feel that the Greek political history of the 19th century and the remote past of the political parties are not that useful when they have to choose a party in the parliamentary elections.

APPENDIX E. (Chapter six)

Extracts from interviews

(Students included in their answers a narration of their national history):

> Kyriaki (1203): I select as first the poet's house because he is directly connected to our history, only a poet can express what we have been through and what we have achieved ...
>
> Nikos (2702): I select the 5th century temple because it has a very long history, that is to say 2500 years and because the ancient Greek civilization was very important, and we are now based on it through the French revolution, the Enlightment and the Renaissance whose roots had been in the ancient Greek civilization, mostly in Athens.

ANALYSIS ON THE INDIVIDUAL LEVEL
REMARKS ON HOW STUDENTS' THINKING DEVELOPED THROUGHOUT THE DIFFERENT TASKS (two cases: Eleanna & Marianthi)

Giving differentiated 'problems' to research participants is an old practice of psychological research and has also been adopted by socio-cultural psychological research; not only do the researchers differentiate the content of the tasks, but they also change the research settings in order to emphasize the situated character of people's performance: "Is there any hope we may learn from contrasting performances in contrasting situations?" (Lave in Cole et al, 1997: 7). Lave referred to experimental research designs but his concerns provide appropriate models for this research: following the research conceptualization created by the "Youth and History" project (Angvic and Von Borries, 1997: A153) an effort was made to produce tasks that would 'simulate' everyday situations and problems; one of these research questions was designed to test whether students' performances would be differentiated when they engaged in differentiated situations.

Studying social phenomena[1] in change has also been one of the aims of grounded theory: "... phenomena are not conceived of as static but as continually changing in response to evolving conditions" (Corbin and Stauss, 1990: 5). Changing the content of the tasks and creating differentiated circumstances for students, would be a way to discern possible changes in students' thinking processes.

Focusing on individual cases (Marianthi and Eleanna) seems to be an appropriate way in which to describe fully the changes in students' thinking. Marianthi and Eleanna were selected for this analysis, because they appear to represent two strikingly different ways of thinking in relation to the main question of this research: Do fifteen year old students refer to the past when they find themselves in some 'difficult' everyday life situation?

Eleanna tended to move throughout the interview between Rüsen's (1993: 81 or 2005: 29) "traditional" and "paradigmatic" types while Marianthi could be called

[1] Students' understanding of the past in this thesis

"critical" as Rüsen defined the term in his work (2005: 29 and 2004: 208). While Eleanna seemed to 'abide' in the past[1] Marianthi searched for ways to disentangle herself from it and from older generations' experience.

Throughout the interview Marianthi developed an argument around the extent to which the contemporary world is different from the world of the past. To do so, Marianthi used historical information correctly and in a manner appropriate to the questions she was asked. The coherent way in which she constructed her argument does not suggest that Marianthi was not in a position to find continuities between past and present. It is not that Marianthi was unable to see connectedness between past and present; quite the opposite, she seems to have all the relevant historical information or "tools" (Penuel and Wertch, 1998: 30) to do so. Marianthi seems to know enough history (at least in terms of content) to emphasize continuities between past and present, although she chose to focus on the disruptions between these two time entities.

Eleanna on the other hand showed an inclination for locating continuities between past and present. She also seems to have thought a lot about similarities and differences between past and present as one can see in the excerpts below from the vote task[2]. She also exhibited a commitment to past and to previous generations within her own family: "some people did things for us, don't we have to do things for the next ones ...."[3].

---

[1] Eleanna adopted different stances towards the past occasionally included into Rüsen's "genetic" type. No matter what Eleanna's specific stance towards the past was, she always seemed to feel the need to refer to the past; the latter characteristic of her thought is what differentiated her from Marianthi.

[2] The three different versions of the 'vote' task were:

What would you need to know in order to vote?

Would the knowledge of the past be useful for you in order to decide?

Would knowledge of the Greek political history of the 19th century be useful for you in order to decide? All these three versions of the 'vote' task led to the articulation of interesting constructs about 'change' in history.

[3] Question: If you woke up one morning and you found that you had forgotten everything, what would that mean for your life?

Furthermore, both Eleanna and Marianthi adopted a "traditional" stance in the Elgin marbles' task when they used the past as an argument against the English: Eleanna made the validity of the Greek claim dependent on the historical facts of the 19h century; an injustice committed in 1801 ought to continue to be considered as an injustice even in 2004. Marianthi adopted an 'identity' rationale without always referring to the past: the past is implied in her answer to the 'indirect'[1] Elgin marbles' question.

Figure1. ENVIRONMENT

What we need to know in order to decide whether to construct the road or not?

Eleanna: I would like to know whether the construction will really facilitate traffic. When we are in a position to know that the construction will really improve traffic conditions, then we should proceed.	Marianthi: The development of the city comes first ...

Neither Marianthi, nor Eleanna referred to the past.

Figure 2. ELGIN MARBLES

What we need to know in order to make up our minds about the Elgin marbles?	**Should we insist on claiming the marbles back and what would we need to know in order to make up our minds?**
Eleanna: I would like to know ... 1) ***how they justify*** the fact that they are not returning them, on which base, ***on which historical fact*** they make dependant their rationale, ... ***they should give us some justification.*** If the marbles returned to Greece 2) ***would they be in better conditions*** ...	Marianthi: Well I think ***they should be back*** and 1) ***if I knew that there would even be preservation*** and that the marbles would be displayed properly, 2) (if I knew) that they (probably the English) would say ***that they are really ours ...***

[1] What would you need to know in order to make up your mind about the Elgin marbles?

Eleanna and Marianthi were both affected by the wording of the task. The task began: 'In 1801 Lord Elgin with an Ottoman ***permission*** took sculptures from the Parthenon, on the Acropolis ...' Students seemed to have been baffled by the word 'permission'; they focused on the 19th century and on 'legal' matters rather than on an 'identity rationale' based on the ancient Greek classical past. For example, Eleanna replying to the 'What would you need to know ...' question displayed the 'past that clarifies circumstances' rationale (cat. B2)[1]. She also appeared preoccupied with practical concerns[2], the marbles' preservation conditions in Greece.

Marianthi did not use the ancient Greek past to support her claim that the marbles should be brought back; in fact she did not use the past at all at this point. She also made the marbles' return dependent on the conditions of their preservation in Greece and on English people's recognition of Greek rights: "I believe that the English say exactly the same at this very moment, that the marbles are somehow ***theirs*** and that they belong to them, ***in the same way we have to say that they are ours***". She is actually more interested in what will happen after the marbles are transported to Greece than in the past. There is an identity rationale in her answer but her answer does not produce a 'past as identity'[3] category. There might be an implication in her words that it is the past that the English will distort in order to claim the marbles as theirs, but there is no temporal indication in her words.

[1] Category (B2) from the cluster 'Endorsement of the Past', see Analysis Chapter 4.

[2] Eleanna: 'If the marbles returned to Greece would they be in better conditions or they would just be left somewhere, if it is probable for the marbles to be left somewhere [unattended] [when returned to Greece] ***perhaps it is better for us to leave them where they are now, ...'.***

[3] Cluster of categories 'Past as Identity', Analysis Chapter 4.

Figure 3. VOTE

What would you need to know in order to vote?

Eleanna: I would see the ***ideology of a certain party,*** but I wouldn't restrict my self to that, because I would try to learn ***the history of a specific party,*** since it was founded, that is since a party is founded whether it is in the government or not, it goes through some stages, some difficult moments of Greece, some problems, ***and from the way the party coped with this problem,*** what it did and what it didn't, what it should do, … I am not going to 'stick' on what a party says but on what it does, because ***one can go against ones' s ideology and say, 'now I must do something else',*** I believe that ***one must be ready to change*** one's behaviour and what one usually follows, and adapt to the problem of the actual moment. **I: You said that you were interested in the political history of a specific party, what would you mean?** Eleanna: I would not examine a party as it is today but since it was founded, I am not going to judge a party in relation to the president that it has now ***but in the past as well.*** … **I… in what sense would the past of a party be useful, is there anything that remains the same after so many years?**	Marianthi: I would select the party that would have as priorities the ***solution of everyday problems*** like the high prices of commodities ... **I: the programme …** Marianthi: Yes, education (she means that she would select the party that would focus on education) in the end the party that would be concerned with the right foreign ***policy,*** the party that would improve the 'picture' of Greece.

Eleanna: ***Principles,*** there are always ***'steady'***('σταθερές αξίες') ***principles,*** not that there are no changes, there are changes, ***but a party cannot change completely,*** a party ought to have kept some things 'steady'(she means the same) there are some principles that do not change no matter how many years have passed. **I: Which are the points that change?** Eleanna: I believe that a party changes according to the époque, today is one thing, ten years latter the circumstances are different, the economy of a country will be different, the civilization, the technology, that is to say the parties change according to this, ***they are having some steady principles*** and in a way they (the parties) get influenced from the 'climate' of each époque, what do the people say.	

An indirect (in relation to the past) approach is used with both students but they responded differently: Eleanna saw continuities between past and present (the party 'principles', ideology) while Marianthi adopted an ahistorical stance.

Figure 4. PAST-ENVIRONMENT

Would the knowledge of the past be useful for you in order to decide?

Eleanna: It hasn't occurred to me before to have to think about a **1)*similar*** subject, I have never been in such a dilemma before **I: It is a very common dilemma though, isn't it? We had all this fuss with Marathona and the ecosystem that existed there ... and other** Eleanna: I believe that in the centre of Athens, **1) *nothing*** that significant in regards to the environment ***has so far been destroyed.*** **I: Even if you just build you distort the environment** Eleanna: **2) *I really believe that all these problems belong to 'now' and to 'after'*** **EA: You mean that they refer either to the present or to the future** Eleanna: Look, we are now having a certain **3) *need,*** some traffic problem, we have to sit and solve it even if that will have some cost for the environment, if the environmental cost is high let's not do it, but if it is really going to solve the traffic problem, because of the traffic problem that has already been created, traffic problem also produces pollution, I don't think that only the construction of roads creates problems, of course if we could even reduce the problem, even that, it would be good for the environment, we just have to compare ...	Marianthi: **2)*We have to look at the future and not at the past especially in a subject like*** the construction of a road, especially now that we are living in an époque where everything is modernized and ***that we have to provide for the 3)needs of the people that live nowadays*** and not of those who belonged to the past, so as for the first issue (the road) I believe that we shouldn't look at the past (literal translation), even to our own experiences, **1)*only if there is some accident at some road,*** we have to take under consideration what are the consequences arising from the road (she means that the road might be constructed in a way that accidents would be provoked), so as to construct it in a way ... **I: So a previous road can inform us in regard to the way of construction and not in regard to the actual choice: to decide whether the road ought to be constructed in the first place.** Marianthi: Yes

Despite the fact that Eleanna and Marianthi were not interviewed together (in the same group) and despite the fact that overall they made different choices, they used the same wording in their answers in at least three cases (the answers are highlighted). Not only did they make the same choice ('dismissal' of the past in the specific task/question about the environment) but they also adopted the same kind of reasoning, employing a similar thought process or construct: 'conditions/needs today are different[1]'. Another construct they both used was the 'similar events' construct: both students searched the recent past for examples that would guide them in their decision-making. The latter finding suggests that the way in which the tasks are worded is linked closely to the kind of answers elicited: students' reasoning appears to be 'context dependent', 'situated' and not consistent. On the other hand students' preferences seem to be 'mediated' by their culture: the environment task does not evoke identity for the students, either a national identity or a political identity. The lack of an obvious 'connectedness' of the environmental problem to the past/students' culture makes the past itself redundant; a redundant past because it does not constitute an identity past.

[1] Cat (B1) 'things/conditions today are different from the cluster 'Rejection of the Past', Analysis Chapter 5.

Figure 5. Common wording used by Eleni and Marina

1) the ***'similar events'*** **pattern**	
Eleanna	Marianthi
"it hasn't occurred to me before to have to think about a ***similar*** subject" and "***nothing ... has so far been destroyed".***	" ***only if there is some accident at some road,..."***

2) it is a 'present and a future problem' pattern	
Eleanna	Marianthi
"I really believe that all these problems belong to 'now' and to 'after'"	***"We have to look at the future and not at the past especially in a subject like*** the construction of a road,"

3) the ***'needs'*** construct	
Eleanna	Marianthi
"Look, we are now having a certain ***need,"***	***"needs of the people that live nowadays"***

Figure 6. PAST-ELGIN MARBLES

Would the knowledge of the past be useful for you in order to decide?

Eleanna: I would like to know ***the rationale they had when*** they took the marbles, what they were thinking then, they just said "we got these marbles"? Do they think that the marbles belong to them, do they think that the marbles belong to the Greeks instead, ***on what grounds*** they deny to give them back, we have to know which ***justification,*** it is not as much a question of bringing the	Marianthi: As for the marbles we should look ***at the past*** because we see that there have been very important efforts to bring the marbles back, ***this is why we have to continue,*** if we are to be called Greeks, ***that we know our history*** and that we are proud of it ... **I: That means that you would take under consideration the past since 1974 onwards?**

marbles back as of our being able to understand how (perhaps she wants to say why) they are having them there. **I: Do you think that they could be justified having them there?** Eleanna: I believe that they are not ***justified,*** I believe that ***these marbles are Greek,*** and because they took them ***when*** the Greeks were subjects to the Turks and when the Greeks had no right to articulate their own opinion about the issue, Greeks were not asked ***about what should happen,*** it is considered to be ***'invalid', invalid as a permission*** as well, either if the permission referred to just copying/sketching the marbles*, or if it referred to taking the marbles away, and ***invalid as an event,*** the fact that they got them. Turks were aware, but ***they didn't care*** because the marbles did not belong to them, because ***they had no bonds with them*** (she means bonds with the marbles) they said "ok" and the issue was over. I consider it as invalid because ***then*** we didn't have an opinion and because it happened ***in a period*** that we were subjects to the Turks and second ***they should justify*** why they believe they are ***right.*** (* In the break I had referred to the fact that the initial permission might have referred to their copying/ sketching them).	Marianthi: Yes, that means we want them (the marbles) back, that we are persistent and naturally, that we have to continue asking

Once again a strong identity past is adopted in both excerpts. Eleanna used the 'past that clarifies situations'[1] construct to support the Greek identity of the marbles: the past (the conditions under which the marbles were abducted from the temple) when fully understood will show how 'wrong' Elgin and the Turks were. The Greeks people ought to have the marbles returned to them because the marbles' abduction was based on power.

Marianthi exposed a 'past as debt'[2] attitude: she seemed to feel the obligation to continue the efforts made by other Greeks to bring the marbles back. Even in Eleanna's speech where a detective/judicial logic prevailed, identity is always present in either an explicit or implicit way; the 'inquiry' style ("I would like to know ***the rationale they had", "on what grounds*** they deny",...) in Eleanna's excerpt initially shows her inclination to learn more; additionally her 'questions' are indicative of her annoyance or protest because of what took place in those years. Marianthi also included herself in the group of people who care about making efforts to bring the marbles back. On the whole with the change of task content (from the 'environment' version to the 'Elgin marbles' version) students started finding the past relevant to their problems.

Figure 7. PAST-VOTE

Would the knowledge of the past be useful for you in order to decide?

Eleanna: Since a party is founded is based on ***certain principles***, on an ***idea***, on a ***perspective*** and ***the only changes*** that take place in a party correspond to the conditions and to what is going on in the party's 'environment', to the people, to the problems that are created etc. **I: In the end how would you vote, according to the values or to the**	Marianthi: We shouldn't look at the past in regard to the vote either, because ***the demands of the present society are different from the needs then.*** Like in the road issue that we will have to look at the future, what the future man will want and the young generation, the same must be done here [at the vote issue] as well.

[1]Category (B2) 'Past that clarifies circumstances', from the cluster 'Endorsement of the Past', Analysis Chapter 4.

[2] Category 'Past as Debt', (A1a) from the cluster 'Endorsement of the Past', from Analysis Chapter 4.

changing conditions? Eleanna: Perhaps according to the ***values,*** if a party expresses you as for the values at a difficult moment of the people that party will try to solve this specific problem relying on these values ...	

Eleanna once more made her political stance dependent on history recognizing permanent or diachronic elements ("values", "principles", "idea", "perspective") in the parties' identity. She seems to be basing her political judgement on 'constancies', or on 'continuities' between past and present. Marianthi on the other hand once more used the 'needs' indicator, which references the 'conditions/needs today are different'[1] construct.

Figure 8. VOTE task about 19th century

Would the knowledge of the Greek political history of the 19th century be useful for you in order to decide?

Eleanna: We would have to adopt all the right things they (politicians of the 19th century) had done and that functioned for the benefit of the people then, there were also mistakes, usually more [than the right things] in each époque, and we have to learn to avoid them in order not to do the same, so as to say ***we keep the positive things, we reject the negative things,*** but to do this we should know what is going on and what was going on then **I: But what is the connection between Deligiannis and Trikoupis (Greek**	Marianthi: I don't think that we ***need*** that type of knowledge now in order to vote, because then (in the 19th century) they were in a way trying to rebuild Greece and the new state, ***on the contrary now there is a state*** with many problems and these problems have to be solved.

[1] Cat (B1) 'things/conditions today are different from the cluster 'Rejection of the Past', Chapter 5.

politicians of the 19th century) and the situation as it is today? Eleanna: I think that the only way (she might mean 'reason to examine history') to examine ***history,*** is because ***people do not change, only conditions,*** people in the way they used to think in the past, ***in a similar way they think today ...*** **EA: But since conditions change ...** Eleanna: When we say conditions change, we mean there have been problems in the past, but problems exist even today, ***there have been difficulties in the past, difficulties continue to exist today ...***	

Eleanna and Marianthi continued arguing along the same lines as in previous questions. Eleanna emphasized points of continuity between past and present (people, who according to her point of view, do not change, and types of problems that do not change either) while Marianthi focused once again on present needs.

On the whole in the three different issues set (environment, Elgin Marbles, vote) the two students were differentiated in the 'vote' task. In the 'environment' and the 'Elgin marbles' task the two students coincided, a possible indicator that the students functioned in the same cultural community. The 'environment' task lacked any reference to 'culture' while the 'Elgin marbles' task was the 'cultural, historical' task of the set.

Figure 9. Tasks where Eleanna and Marianthi coincided.

ISSUES	endorsement of the past	dismissal of the past
'environment'		**Marianthi, Eleanna**
'Elgin marbles'	**Marianthi, Eleanna**	
'vote'	Eleanna	Marianthi

PRESERVATION TASK

ELEANNA	MARIANTHI
1: Byzantine church	1. 5th century BC temple and Byzantine church
2. 5th century BC temple	2. poet's house
3. poet's house	3. neoclassical building
4. neoclassical building	4. prison
5. prison	5. watermill
6. watermill	

RATIONALE

ELEANNA selected the:

1. The Byzantine church because it is "***aesthetically appealing***" and because it represents a "***significant civilization***"

2. The 5th century BC temple because "we would ***be able to see a cult space of some other Gods, something different from what we see today*** (the 'historical past')

3. The poet's house because it informs us about the poet ('past as good to know, the "historical" past')

4. The neoclassical building because it is "***aesthetically appealing***" and because one can learn about the architecture of those years (the 'historical' past)

5. The prison because it gives us information that could be retrieved 'from other sources' [1]

6. The watermill, because it can 'no longer be used' (category B2). On the other hand it indicates the level of development of the people in those years' ('historical past', category D2d[2]).

MARIANTHI

1. The 5th century BC temple and Byzantine church because they represent 'significant civilizations'. The Byzantine church because it is part of our **'identity'** (Marianthi's words: "***our*** religion").

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[1] Category (D2c), 'past rejected because (past) information is available from other sources'.

[2] Category (C)'(the material past) that represents significant historical themes'

2. The poet's house because he was important for Greece, ('identity' past, A1c).
3. The neoclassical building because it represents a 'significant civilization' (C). On the other hand (Marianthi puts it second) because it exists 'in abundance' (D2b).
4. The prison because it bears 'bad memories' (D1a, the 'ugly past')
5. The watermill as 'not cultural/not historical' (C2) , it 'can no longer be used' (B2).

In most cases Marianthi and Eleanna selected the same articles for preservation but the justifications they gave were different. What one cannot fail to notice is the persistence individual students exhibited for the same kind of justification, no matter what the item was: for example, Eleanna often articulated a 'historical past'[1] construct and she opted for an 'aesthetically appealing'[2] past while Marianthi articulated an 'identity past'[3]. The same phenomenon was noticed in at least other three cases: Nadia (1003) did not opt to preserve the 'watermill' and the 'poets' house' because both items were to be found in 'abundance'[4]. The 'Past items rejected because they exist in abundance' is a common construct but not for the 'poet's house'. Orestis (2602a) referring to the 'watermill' and the 'prison' exhibited an inclination for the 'historical past'[5] construct. The latter construct is not a common construct for the 'prison' option.

A lot of constructs were located in the interviews referring to 'identity'[6] or to the 'past as old'[7] notion (Marianthi, Dimitra (2603a) Panagiotis (3003) and others). These constructs were evoked by the students in relation to the '5th century ancient temple' and the 'Byzantine church'. The constructs that referred to the ancient temple and the Byzantine church do not seem to constitute individual predispositions

[1] Category (D2d), 'Past as good to know', appreciation of the past on its own terms ("historical past") from the 'Endorsement of the Past' cluster in Analysis Chapter 4.

[2] Category (D1), 'Past aesthetically appealing', from the 'Endorsement of the Past' cluster in Analysis Chapter 4.

[3] Cluster of categories 'Past as Identity' (A), of Analysis Chapter 4.

[4] Category (D2b) from the 'Rejection of the Past' cluster in Analysis Chapter 5.

[5] Category (D2d), 'Past as different and good to know', appreciation of the past on its own terms ("historical past") from the 'Endorsement of the Past' cluster in Analysis Chapter 4.

[6] Cluster of categories 'Past as Identity', of Analysis Chapter 4.

[7] Category (D2a), 'Past as old', from the 'Remoteness' cluster of categories in Analysis Chapter 4.

on the part of the students, rather they suggest cultural selections because they are consistent with the students' national narrative: students tended to 'select' the ancient temple and the Byzantine church at the top of their list and they usually offered similar constructs to justify their choices.

Figure 10. CHANGE task

What sort of changes do you think might affect most of our lives in the next thirty years? Why would you think that the specific changes might be considered as the most probable?

Eleanna: I believe that changes will take place generally in sciences but the ones that will affect us directly are the ones in ***medicine. Scientists have reached a very good*** point and they are about to discover the vaccination for cancer and the one for AIDS, ***there has been an effort for years*** and I believe that if they continue in the same way, ...	Marianthi: I also believe that there are going to be changes in the ***scientific sector*** and ***mostly in medicine*** because new medicines are going to be found, for many illnesses, cancer for example, as Panagiotis said, and of course there is going to be progress in ***technology,*** I also believe that we will have changed ourselves at a personal level, we will have become, ***as it has already started being said,*** more alienated the one from the other, ... that there are also going to be wars, mainly for goods like water, ***as it is estimated by scientists,*** and oil.
.....	**I: You mean natural resources**
I: It is a fact that efforts are being made, what makes you believe that the outcome will be positive and that the medicines will eventually be found?	Marianthi: Yes natural resources
Eleanna: The fact that we are doing better and better	**I: ... will you tell me about each of (each of the changes Marianthi referred to) them now, one by one, why you believe that each of them will influence our lives more.**
I: Why do you take it for granted that we are doing better and better, in in relation to science, in relation to our life?	Marianthi: Because they (changes of the kind) will improve it
Eleanna: In relation to the science, because (not clear as heard) it might be that they need to discover this medicine ***but they have already discovered other***	**I: I am not asking why you think that**

medicines.	**changes of the kind are important but why scientific discoveries of the kind influence our lives more than other scientific discoveries**
I: that means that you are having examples from previous periods of time	Marianthi: First of all ***there are many scientists that start occupying*** with this subject and I believe that ***there is going to be research conducted by these scientists in the future as well,*** and I believe that our life will be improved because these changes are directly conne cted to our health … it has to do with our health or with how we live, there is no better thing to happen, ***it is exactly whatever any man would hope to happen,*** medicines to be found for certain illnesses.
Eleanna: For example ***when my grand mother lived*** there were several illnesses that today are considered very easy, and ***this happened before fifty years,*** that would mean that if today there are some deadly illnesses that kill too many people, for my children …	**I: Yes, "*it is exactly whatever any man would hope to happen*", do you say it from experience?**
I: Would you have to add any other change?	Marianthi: Yes
Eleanna: Yes changes in technology that will be related to environmental changes, the latter will be negative. I believe that ***in the last twenty years*** big changes have taken place in ***technology*** … I believe that the rhythms become quicker and quicker which means that technology will continue developing in the future ***America has been the pioneer country*** in all this development and as we have noticed, whatever makes our life easier, … all these have been discovered in America and then they were transferred in Greece, ***in a way that if they are having development there*** because they are more developed, we are bound to have the same developments as well.	**I: Concerning the wars, did you also say that wars will take place?**
	Marianthi: Yes, I believe that wars will take place because of the lack of natural resources, ***as it is now said,*** that there will be a lack of water and that because of this many states will seek by force water from other countries, water that will be in abundance in those other countries, like oil, ***this happened recently in Iraq*** and I believe it will happen again because states tend to be
I: So, because changes in America will be imported here you know that in some sectors at least there will be	

development, but how can you tell that development will continue in America? Eleanna: From what I see	… this is the reason why wars will take place. **I: Can you justify what you say?** Marianthi: ***From the recent past*** that wars took place and from the research conducted by scientists, the best people to judge if compared to common people, and from my own point of view I can see that the states do not have any real solidarity between them … **I: and as for what you said about the relations between people that will also change?** Marianthi: ***One can see that even now, one can see …***

Figure 11. Similarities in 'themes' and 'constructs'

THEMES	
Eleanna "medicine", "scientists", "technology"	**Marianthi** "scientific", "medicine", "technology" "we will have changed ourselves at a personal level, ..." "wars"
CONSTRUCTS	
Eleanna **Reference to past time periods, no articulation of the word "past" or "history"** "Scientists ***have*** reached ..." "there an ***has been*** effort ***for years***..." "they ***have already*** discovered ***other*** medicines" ***"...when my grand mother lived..."*** "...this happened ***before*** *fifty years ...* " ***"in the last twenty years*** big changes have taken place" ***"America has been the pioneer country... in a way that if they are having development there*** ...we are bound to have the same developments ..."	**Marianthi** **Reference to past events, no "past" word articulated** ***this happened recently in Iraq*** **An extended present as past** ***"...as it has already*** *started being said. .."* ***"...as it is*** *estimated by scientists,"* *"there **are** many scientists that start occupying"* *"...as it is **now** said, ..."* *"one can see that even **now,"*** **Explicit reference to the past** "from the recent ***past"***

Eleanna and Marianthi did not explicitly refer to the past. On the contrary an 'extended present' (Marianthi, *"...as it is **now** said ..."*) and a recent past (Eleanna using present perfect, "Scientists ***have*** reached ...") mainly served as 'past' and a basis for prediction in the future. It was only at the very end of the interview that Marianthi explicitly referred to the past.

Figure 12. Synopsis (Eleanna and Marianthi)

(the areas where they coincide are highlighted)

	Eleanna	Marianthi
Environment (Indirect)	**atemporal**	**atemporal**
Environment (Direct)	**past dismissed ('modern needs')**	**past dismissed ('modern needs')**
Elgin (Indirect)*	**past named**	**atemporal**
Elgin (Direct)	**past (not named)**	**past (named)**
Vote (Indirect)	**past (named)**	**atemporal**
Vote (Direct)**	**past (not named)**	**past dismissed ('modern needs')**
Vote (Remote Past)	**past (named)**	**past dismissed ('modern needs')**
Change (Indirect)	**past (not named)**	**past (not named), also**
>> **>>**	**.....** **.....**	**extended present** **explicit reference (named)**
Change (Direct)	**no question**	**no question**

*Indirect is the question that does not include the words 'past' or 'history' in its wording. Indirect are the 'what would you need to know …' questions of this research.

Direct are the 'would ***the past* help you in your decision about …' questions.

Figure 13. Narration of Greek History

Question: narrate briefly Greece's history

Eleanna: … Greece has been through a lot of wars, ***many conquerors,*** many situations of the kind, but Greece has also been ***in civil wars,*** a fact that has made the country to go down and then up, because if only ***we*** had not made some mistakes, ***we, as Greeks***, mistakes	**Marianthi:** Greek history is a history that ***constitutes the base of the European civilization,*** *it is the history of a* civilization ***that set the example for other civilizations to develop, especially in Europe and in the western world,*** it is a history that had ***many decline periods,***

irrelevant to the wars with other peoples, or the conquerors *we* had been having for many years, ***we would have reached even higher,*** that is, I believe that what made Greece go back was the fact that ***Greeks were not able to agree***	***as Panagiotis said, like the Turkish occupation,*** Greece even though a small country occupies a crucial (in Greek: καίρια) ***geographical location,*** that is why there are many rivals, and despite the fact that these people (the rivals) are in a way seeking to deceive her, ***she always manages to get away*** with these 'ups and downs', Greece's history has been a 'diachronic' ('διαχρονικός') history, Greece's history will never stop existing, existing not only in the hearts of Greeks, but also in the hearts of the other European citizens, and there is always going to be mark (she probably means 'of Greece', 'στίγμα' in Greek) in every country like the museums and the various monuments.
I: I could say that this could be another theme, that we cannot agree Eleanna: But *we* know that when *we* are threatened by some third part, then ***we become one, we fight for ideals and values,*** so we manage, ***in the end we gain*** but once again when we have accomplished something we start fighting again.	
(Eleanna starts again after an interruption) Eleanna: As for how much history and the political history affect the present, as for how much we are influenced in order to vote, that is, we take for example some personalities from the past and we study them, and we say about them, 'if I were in their place, but I would myself belong to the present context, I am who I am, I have the ideas that I have and I am in his place, what would I do?'.	
I: You mean in those circumstances? Eleanna: Yes, but I would have my own character, what would I do? Or if he (a	

past personality) was in the present conditions, in the life of today, what would he do, the one that was, the one we ave got to know from the past circum stances? So, ***I believe that what is intere sting for us (from history) is the people, not the époques.*** **I: Yes, but the époque in which they lived formed them, in a way they became what they finally were** Eleanna: ***Yes but don't the people make the history,*** in the end **I: Ok, but what about the civil wars you were referring to, which ones you had in mind?** Eleanna: After the revolution of 1821, they were the civil wars that drew the revolution back **I: you haven't heard of others?** Eleanna: I keep only these in my mind	

Between them Eleanna and Marianthi provided the two main patterns of Greek narrative as this was articulated by participating research students in their interviews: Eleanna articulated the ***'Greece is a country that has suffered but she managed to get through and continues to exist ...'*** pattern[1] and Marianthi articulated patterns that referred to the ***'uniqueness of the Greek civilization'***[2].

In brief this is how the Greek Narrative seems to have developed for most of the students:

[1] see Chapter 6.

[2] see Chapter 6

The three elements of the first pattern (for the majority of students) were:

Figure: 14. The Greek narrative: Elements of the first pattern.

-First element: the Greek people.
The continuity and the homogeneity of the Greek people though history.
-Second element: the 'others' (the ones that provoke the sufferings)
or the "many people want to dominate us" pattern.
-Second element: the 'civil war' pattern.
-Third element: 'resistance' and 'progress'.

Figure: 15. The Greek narrative: Elements of the second pattern

-First element: the theme of 'civilization/culture' in the Greek narrative
- Second element: the 'others', a comparison process
Now and Then (Ancient Greece/Modern Greece)
East (Ottoman Occupation period) and West (Europe)

Elements of the first pattern that appear in Eleanna's speech are the following:

Eleanna	**Elements of the Greek Narrative, 2nd & 3rd (First Pattern)**
"... ***many conquerors ...***"	-Second Element of the Greek Narrative (the ***'others'***)
"but Greece has also been ***in civil wars ...***"	-Second Element of the Greek Narrative (the 'others' that harm us are the Greeks themselves)
"***Greeks were not able to agree ...***"	
"***we would have reached even higher,***" "I believe that what made Greece go back was the fact that ***Greeks were not able to agree***"	-Second Element again, a display of the ***consequences of the 'civil wars'*** is being done here[1]
"in the end we gain"	- Third Element: ***'resistance'*** and ***'progress[2]'***

The First Element of the Greek Narrative, First Pattern (Eleanna's)

The first element of the Greek narrative, the 'continuity and homogeneity of the Greek people through history'[3] is indicated mainly by the use of the pronoun "we" which is repeated several times in Eleanna's speech. Eleanna presented Greece as a man who retained his basic and 'natural' qualities (strength, ability to resist, inclination to quarrel and discord) unchanged throughout the years: "...***we*** know that when ***we*** are threatened by some third part, then ***we become one...***" Eleanna said.

Eleanna also described the whole process as if it were a law of nature; "(***every time***) we are threatened ... (***then***) we become one". There are no events in Eleanna's account, only processes and the implication that the processes described can be repeated indeterminately in the future: "...***we*** know that when ***we*** are threatened ...".

[1] see from the Chapter 6.

[2] see from Chapter 6. The name of the pattern, "resistance", is owed to Avdela (Avdela, 2000

[3] see from Chapter six

The issue of strong 'agency'

Eleanna: "So, ***I believe that what is interesting for us (from history) is the people, not the époques"*** and later ***"don't the people make the history,*** in the end?"

Eleanna's speech implies a belief in people's agency; people can really make a difference. The latter belief is either implied in the presentation of a resisting Greek people or explicitly stated as above.

Marianthi	**Elements of the Greek Narrative**
	First Pattern
"even though a small country occupies a crucial (in Greek: καίρια) ***geographical location,*** that is why there are many ***rivals,***"	-Second Element of the Greek Narrative (the ***'others'***, people that envy Greece because of its geographical position)
"she always manages to get away"	-Third Element of the Greek Narrrative "Resistance" and "Progress"
	Second Pattern ('the uniqueness of the Greek civilization")
"constitutes the base of the European civilization," "that set the example for other civilizations to develop, especially in Europe and in the western world,"	-the 'others', Greece and Western Europe
"many decline periods ..., like the Turkish occupation,"	-the 'others', Greece and Turkey

The First Element of the Greek Narrative, First Pattern (Marianthi)

The notion of the Greek people acting as one person is indicated by the use of "Greece" and "she" as the main agents in the narration.

Conclusion on the Narration of Greek History task (Eleanna and Marianthi)

Both students functioned in the same way as the majority of the students who participated in the research had done in that they seemed to have adapted "specific narratives" (historical events) to "templates" (Wertsch, 2002: 113) or "schemas" and "organizing settings" (Bartlett, ed. 1995: 201).

References in APPENDIX E (Chapter six).

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APPENDIX F. (Chapter 3)

The findings of the written sample.

- Did students finally refer to the past?

The written sample comprises two hundred and fifty-three questionnaires. One hundred and forty of them were finally codified. The criterion by which the specific papers were selected was the completion of the "three different issues" task: I selected those papers that were fully completed and in which students had answered both the indirect and direct questions[1] and also both the different 'issues'. The latter criterion was adopted so that a comparison would be made between students' answers in the 'environment' issue and the 'Elgin marbles' issue[2].

Table 1. The 'two different issues" task: indirect approach

	PAST	PAST NOT NAMED	IMPLICIT PAST	NO PAST	No.
'environment' task, indirect	01	07	—	132	140
'Elgin' task, indirect	04	25	02	109	140

Table 2. The 'two different issues" task: direct approach

	PAST	IMPLICIT	NO PAST	No.
'environment' task, direct	96	08	36	140
'Elgin' task, direct	122	—	18	140

[1] - What would you need to know to decide about the construction of a new road that would harm the environment? ('indirect' question)

- Does the knowledge of the past help you in your decision? ('direct' question).

- What would you need to know to decide whether the Elgin marbles should return to Greece?

- Does the knowledge of the past help you in your decision? ('direct' question).

[2] In the written questionnaire the 'vote' issue was not used because there would not be enough time for the students to respond.

- Categories identified in the written sample

I also selected the papers where students' answers produced a certain rationale for their past options: "yes" or "no" answers (in the 'direct' approach) were not considered as 'complete', thus they were not codified. Nevertheless, students' responses when they 'rejected' the past were sometimes still unclear. For example students, whose responses could be allocated to the 'things or conditions today are different' category, insisted on a presentist perspective without articulating indicators like "change" or "differences" so common from the interviews.

> Question: Does the knowledge of the past help you in relation to the construction of the road?
> Christos: This decision refers to ***today***, to the ***contemporary*** way of life, to ***now***, studying the ***present way of life,*** this is how we must decide.

The excerpt above was classified as 'rejection of the past', or in the NO PAST column in the tables below, but it was not included in the 'things or conditions today are different' category. Students responding like this made an effort to account for their rejection of the past[1] (so the excerpt counted as NO) but the reasoning was not clear.

Categories similar to those from the interviews evolved when students 'endorsed' the past. Similar indicators were also identified. The categories that were identified in relatively 'big' numbers were the following:

'(The material past) that asserts/materializes our national identity'
Examples.

> Question: Does the knowledge of the past help you in relation to the to the Elgin marbles task?

[1] From the excerpt of Christos one can see that the student makes an effort to give a rationale, he is not giving a *random* answer.

Sophia: The marbles are a part of our ***civilization, Greeks made them by their own hands.***

Question: Does the knowledge of the past help you in relation to the Elgin marbles task?
Sophia A.: The marbles are the ***history*** of our country.

Question: Does the knowledge of the past help you in relation to the Elgin marbles task?
Lina: The marbles belong to the ***cultural heritage*** of Greece, they were created here [in Greece].

Forty-one excerpts were identified in the category above.

'Past as debt'

Question: Does the knowledge of the past help you in relation to the Elgin marbles task?
Marianna: It is for the marbles that our ancestors fought.

Nineteen excerpts were identified in the category above.

'Past/history that teaches' (exemplary use of the past)
Examples.

Question: Does the knowledge of the past help you in relation to the construction of the road?
Lina: Yes, because we can ***avoid mistakes*** that took place in the past ...

Question: Does the knowledge of the past help you in relation to the construction of the road?
Nikos: Yes, because something ***similar*** might have taken place in the past.

Question: Does the knowledge of the past help you in relation to the construction of the road?
Stamatia: we can use as an ***example similar*** cases in the past.

Seventy excerpts were identified in the category above.

'Past that clarifies circumstances'
Examples.

Question: What would you need to know to decide whether the Elgin marbles should return to Greece?
Giannis: I would like to know why the English abducted them from the Parthenon.

Question: What would you need to know to decide whether the Elgin marbles should return to Greece?
Maria: I would like to know whether Elgin's 'permission' was legal.

Sixty-eight excerpts were identified in the category above.

[The past is rejected] because things or conditions today are different.

Question: Does the knowledge of the past help you in relation to the construction of the road?
Kyriaki: [Past rejected because] the construction of the road issue is not a diachronic one, the latter issue is influenced from the ***changes*** and the ***needs*** of the country.

Twenty-six excerpts were identified in the category above.

The following categories were also identified: 'Environment is not historic' (ten excerpts), 'past as a condition of the present' (twelve excerpts), 'significant past'[1] (five excerpts).

- The 'change' task.

The 'change' task findings of the written sample agree with the 'change' task findings of the interviews. There is an impressive use of the present as if it was the past in order for the students to make predictions, and the indicators are also similar.

Table 3. The 'change' task.

IMPLICIT PAST the 'extended' present	PAST	ATEMPORAL 'LAW LIKE' PREDICTIONS	CRITERION OF SIGNIFICANCE-ATEMPORAL	TAUTOLOGIES
70	15	13	14	22

Examples

Implicit past:

Question: Why do you think that the specific changes might be considered as the most probable? (she has referred to environmental changes).

Kyriaki: because we can see it ***now*** in our lives.

Atemporal 'law like'predictions:

Question: Why do you think that the specific changes might be considered as the most probable? (she has referred to development in technology).

Emmanouela: Technology will develop because ***people always want to make their lives easier.***

[1] (the material past) which represents significant historical themes, activities, civilizations.

Criterion of significance-atemporal answers:

Question: Why do you think that the specific changes might be considered as the most probable? (he has referred to development in medicine).

Stephanos: I believe that human lives are very important.